THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA.

445

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS MADRAS
25 MAR. 96

SECOND SERIES.

BY

HENRY MORRIS,
(MADRAS C. S. RETIRED.)

Author of "The Governors-General of India," First Series; "Anglo-Indian Worthies," "A Simplified Telugu Grammar," and other works.

"Tis not in mortals to command success;
But we'll do more; we'll deserve it."
Addison.

FIRST EDITION, 3,000 COPIES.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY FOR INDIA:
LONDON AND MADRAS.

1896.

V2
M96.
139128.

THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA.

SECOND SERIES.

BY

HENRY MORRIS,
(MADRAS C. S. RETIRED)
Author of "A Manual of the Godavery District," &c.

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS, MADRAS.
25 MAR. 96

First Edition, 3,000 Copies.

Madras;
THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY.
1896.

[*All Rights Reserved.*]

CONTENTS.

		Page
1.	Earl Amherst	1
2.	Lord William Bentinck...	25
3.	Earl of Auckland	45
4.	Earl of Ellenborough	75
5.	Viscount Hardinge...	103
6.	Marquis of Dalhousie	131
	List of Publications	163

139128

EARL AMHERST.

THE

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

OF

INDIA.

(*SECOND SERIES.*)

EARL AMHERST.

FROM A. D. 1773 TO 1857.

> "Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel: but, being in,
> Bear't that the opposer may beware of thee."
>
> *Shakespeare.*

WILLIAM PITT AMHERST, the subject of this memoir, was the son of Lieutenant-General William Amherst, who highly distinguished himself in the war which resulted in the capture of Canada from the French. He was named after his father's friend, the celebrated statesman William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Thomas Patterson. He was born at Bath, in the county of Somerset, on January 14, 1773. His uncle, his father's elder brother, was the celebrated General, Jeffery Amherst, who commanded the army sent to attempt the conquest of Canada, General Wolfe, whose pathetic death just before the capture of Quebec is so well-known, being second in command. General Amherst took the city of Montreal, wrested the whole of Canada then belonging to them from the French, and was appointed Governor-General of the province. He was created a peer with the title of Baron Amherst in 1776, was afterwards

made Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, and was a great favourite of George the Third. Even that sharp-tongued writer "Junius" had no ill-word for Sir Jeffery Amherst, as he was then, and declared that he was "rich in the esteem, the love, and veneration of his country."

When William Amherst was only eight years of age his father died, and his sister and he were taken to live with their uncle and his wife, who resided at Riverhead near Sevenoaks, in a beautiful part of the county of Kent. Their uncle had called his house Montreal after the city he had taken in Canada. Amidst the lovely surroundings of this neighbourhood he grew up to man's estate. He was educated at the public school of Westminster, where Warren Hastings and other eminent men had been trained. He afterwards went to Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1793. On leaving College, he took, as the custom then was, a long tour on the continent of Europe, studying the languages and customs of the countries through which he past. He succeeded his uncle as Baron Amherst in 1797, the latter having no sons to whom the title could descend. He then became attached to the Court of the King of England, and was Lord of the Bed-chamber, an office of dignity and influence, to three successive sovereigns. He was also early employed in the diplomatic service, that is, he represented the King at certain foreign courts or engaged in important business for his country. In 1809 he was sent as Ambassador to Sicily, and, as we shall have to mention soon, he was despatched to China as Ambassador with great powers conferred on him. On July 24, 1800, he married the Countess of Plymouth, whose late husband he had intimately known. It appears from this lady's diary that this union was singularly happy. They lived together in the utmost harmony and love for some eight-and-thirty years.

Lord Amherst was in 1815 made a Privy Councillor, that is, a member of the body which was consulted by the King on special occasions. In the following year he left England on a laborious and difficult mission. This was a special embassy to China. At the conclusion of the great

European war in 1815, the English Government had sufficient leisure to turn its attention to several important matters, to which, during the turmoil and excitement of war, it was unable to give the consideration they deserved. Among other pressing affairs, were the constant complaints that had been made regarding the exactions to which the English merchants of Canton had been subjected by the Mandarins and the local authorities in China. The East India Company had a factory at Canton; and, from time to time, English ships of war visited the coast, and differences arose with the Chinese authorities. It was considered advisable, therefore, to send an Ambassador to Pekin to treat direct with the Emperor of China and his ministers, and Lord Amherst received this appointment from the Prince Regent, the King being then laid aside by severe illness.

Lord Amherst sailed from England on this duty on February 8, 1816. He took with him his little son Jeffery, usually called Jeff, who was naturally a great favourite with the officers of the ship and of his father's staff; but Lady Amherst remained at home. Two interesting accounts of this voyage and of the adventures in China were published; but, as the matter is outside the history of India, we need not enter into any details regarding it. It will be sufficient to say that the vessel of war which took out the Ambassador and his suite, had a pleasant voyage, touching at Rio de Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope, and Batavia. From the moment they landed on Chinese soil there was one continual wrangle between the Chinese officials and them regarding the obeisance, or "Koutou," which the Chinese Emperor expected the Ambassador to pay to him, and which the latter, as the representative of the King of England, declined to perform. The Chinese at the beginning of this century were exactly the same as they are at the end of it. They imagined that their Emperor was the greatest potentate on earth, and that all other sovereigns and their representatives should prostrate themselves before him with certain humiliating ceremonies. Lord Amherst flatly refused. There was,

however, much negotiation about compromises which might satisfy both sides. At length he and his suite arrived at Pekin, and, when wearied and ill after a long and fatiguing journey, he was hurried into the presence of the Emperor of China, where he is said by the Chinese to have performed some ceremony which they interpreted as the coveted obeisance. There was, however, no formal ceremonial such as befitted the audience of the Ambassador of the sovereign of one civilised state by the ruler of another. He did not remain long even in the outskirts of the capital, and instead of returning to the nearest part by the way they had come, the Ambassador and his party were conveyed right across China, chiefly along the great canal, to Canton. The beauty of the scenery and the observation of the customs of the people served to lighten this long and tedious journey. On the homeward voyage the ship *Alceste*, in which Lord Amherst was travelling, was wrecked in the Straits of Jaspar, and he and his party had to go in an open boat to Batavia in the island of Java, where he found an English vessel which took them to England. After this untoward embassy and voyage, he reached his native land on August 16, 1817.

A few years were spent in England, during which Lord Amherst returned to his former employment about the Court and in political life, after which a far greater and more momentous period commenced. When the Marquis of Hastings' tenure of the Governor-Generalship came to an end, this splendid position, which had been declined by the brilliant orator and statesman, George Canning, was offered to him. He left England, accompanied by Lady Amherst, their son Jeffery, now a young officer in the army, and their daughter Sarah, on March 15, 1823, and arrived in Calcutta on August, 1. Lady Amherst kept a careful diary of the events that happened and the impresssion that were made upon her during her stay in India. Extracts from this vivid record have been given by Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie in her recent account of these times, the family having entrusted it to her care; and they throw light, from the same point

of view in which all these sketches have been written, upon events as seen from Government House or from the Governor-General's camp. There are several entries at first showing the genuine pleasure and interest she felt in the new life they had begun in a strange land. There is a description of her early reception of guests, accounts of little excursions in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and of short journeys up-country. The whole diary reveals the character of a brave, intelligent, and graceful lady, who took the keenest interest in passing events, and had an unfailing confidence in, and truest love for, her husband, who held such an exalted position in this country of variety and change.

Very soon after Lord Amherst had taken the reins of Government into his hands, dissensions arose between the Government of India and a new enemy. India itself, owing to the firm and energetic policy of his predecessor, was in profound peace. Lord Amherst himself was most sincerely desirous to carry out the wishes and instructions of the Court of Directors with regard to peace, and to the consolidation of the empire and the progress of the country. Nothing was further from his thoughts than war. Though descended from a martial stock, he had never been engaged in warlike affairs; and, as he ingenuously wrote to his great contemporary, Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, after having mentioned his plans for the war now forced upon him, "It is really with considerable hesitation that I have entered into this detail with you. Arrangements like these are far beyond the reach of my experience; and I may have overlooked objections which would readily present themselves to persons more conversant with these matters." War was really pressed upon him by the arrogance of the Burmese. The kingdom of Burma was, at that time, of very wide extent. It was situated to the east and south-east of Bengal, and by recent conquests over Assam, Manipur, and Arracan, it now bordered on the Company's territories. Elated by these recent victories and by the weakness of the Indian Government's remonstrances about certain encroachments, the king had entertained a con-

tempt for English prowess, and had the idea that he could neglect every warning with impunity. The first serious dispute was about a barren, sandy island on the border between Arracan and the district of Chittagong, which, though British territory, the Burmese had occupied. The king, instead of sending a civil reply to the Governor-General's letter of remonstrance, sent the following insolent message :—" The Governor-General should state his case in a petition to Maha Bandula," a Burmese commander, " who was proceeding to Arracan with an army to settle the question." This was " the clearest case of self-defence and violated territory," according to the opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the ablest statesmen then in India. A declaration of war against Burma was published on February 24, 1824, scarcely seven months after Lord Amherst's arrival.

The Government of India was very slightly acquainted with the nature of the country to be invaded, the character of the people, or the resources of the land. This ignorance led to some disaster and delay at the beginning of the campaign ; but these were afterwards fully retrieved and a steady but continuous advance was eventually made. We do not intend to give here a complete account of the first Burmese war ; but the outline of the events that occurred will be lighted up by extracts from the journals of two tender and heroic ladies, who were far apart from each other, and who saw things from diametrically opposite points. One was Lady Amherst, who shared all the anxieties and obloquy, and final triumph which fell to the lot of the Governor-General. The other was Mrs. Judson, the wife of the distinguished American Missionary Dr. Judson, who was then at Ava, and she there attended, like a ministering angel, to the wants of her husband, detained in cruel captivity, and was herself, from day to day, in imminent peril. The residence of the king of Burma had frequently been changed from one capital to another ; but the reigning king, who had succeeded to the throne in 1819, moved his court from Amarapura to Ava, which was about six miles from it, where he had built himself a magnificent new

palace. Dr. and Mrs. Judson were present at the grand ceremonial of its opening. "I dare not attempt," she wrote, "a description of that splendid day, when majesty, with all its attendant glory, entered the golden city. The white elephant, richly adorned with gold and jewels, was one of the most beautiful objects in the procession. The viceroys and high officers of the kingdom were assembled, dressed in their robes of state; and ornamented with the insignia of their offices. The king and queen alone were unadorned, dressed in the simple garb of the country; they, hand in hand, entered the garden in which we had taken our seats, and where a banquet was prepared for their refreshment." A few weeks afterwards Mrs. Judson heard of the capture of Rangoon by the English. The Burmese at Ava were thrown into a state of frantic excitement and vain-glory. An army was immediately despatched. "No doubt," wrote Mrs. Judson, "was entertained of the defeat of the English. The only fear of the king was that the foreigners, hearing of the advance of the Burman troops, would be so alarmed as to flee on board their ships, and depart before there would be time to secure them as slaves. 'Bring for me,' said a wild young officer of the palace, 'six white strangers to row my boat.' 'And to me,' said a lady, 'send four white strangers to manage the affairs of my house, as I understand they are trusty servants.' The war-boats passed our house, the soldiers singing, and dancing, and exhibiting gestures of the most joyous kind."

We turn to Calcutta. Lord Amherst was sincerely anxious that the war should not be protracted, and earnestly hoped that the Burmese would soon sue for peace. The main attack was made on Rangoon, from whence an advance to Ava by river was intended. Most of the troops were sent from Madras, and Sir Archibald Campbell, was in command. Rangoon was easily taken on May 11; but it was found deserted, the inhabitants having fled into the neighbouring jungles, and having carried with them all their cattle and other supplies. There was thus at first no foe to encounter, and the army had to be supplied with all necessaries from Calcutta and Madras. The heavy

monsoon, too, which fell in abundance, added intensely to the discomfort and difficulty of the situation. The only resource was patience. The Governor of Madras did the greater share in furnishing supplies and in sending reinforcements. The time necessarily spent at Rangoon was not altogether wasted. Martaban and other places on the Tenasserim coast were taken, and preparations for an advance were made.

In November, the King of Ava recalled from Arrakan, where his troops had been successful in several isolated places, his best commander Maha Bandula, who was the only one of his officers that had shown any military capacity; and early in December he appeared before the great Pagoda at Rangoon. The mode of warfare adopted by the Burmese was quite new to the Company's troops, whether European or Native; and it took some little time and experience to adapt themselves to it. The Burmese tactics were chiefly defensive. In certain places they raised 'stockades,' that is, light but strong walls of timber thrown across narrow passes and carefully guarded by loop-holes, through which shots could be fired. At first attempts were made to carry these by climbing and assault, and several failures were the result; but in time wisdom was learned, and shells and rockets were employed to dislodge the defenders. In the open field the Burmese soldiers relied more on their shovels and their spades than on their military arms. A force would advance with all the full array of pennon and umbrellas; but it would suddenly disappear as if by magic. Each man had employed himself in helping to dig neat little holes in the ground, into each of which two soldiers would ensconce themselves ready for defence. This also was at first a very novel and embarrassing mode of warfare; but the invading army soon acquired the right method of attacking the Burmese. Another very ingenious mode of attack was by means of fire-rafts, which were floated down the stream of the Irawadi with the object of setting on fire the English ships of war and transport vessels. These were rendered harmless by placing booms across the river,

and thus diverting the rafts from their course. The attacks made by Maha Bandula on Rangoon were repulsed, and he retreated to Donabew, forty miles up the river Irawadi.

Meanwhile, expeditions were being sent to Assam, Cachar and Arrakan. The last, after having endured much hardship on the march, was successful in taking the capital of Arrakan, which was defended by fortifications on almost inaccessible hills. During all this trying time of waiting there was much anxiety, and even despondency, felt in Calcutta. The success in Arrakan came to cheer all there, even the Governor-General and Lady Amherst. The latter wrote: "The defences of the town were on a range of hills almost inaccessible, surrounded by dangerous swamps, the summits being cleared and entrenched. An attack on these heights on the evening of March 29, failed owing to the extreme difficulty of ascending the heights, which were nearly perpendicular, and the successful resistance of the enemy rolling down stones." Two days later these fortified heights were taken. "This service," she adds, "was performed entirely with the bayonet, without firing a shot. The success of the troops was announced to the camp by striking up the British drums and fifes from the summit during the night." Fever, however, and other pestilences peculiar to this swampy province did more injury to the troops than the enemy, and it was found impossible to advance on Ava according to the original intention. Arrakan has from that time been a British possession.

At length, after comparative inactivity, an advance was made from Rangoon. The plan was to proceed towards the capital in two columns, one to go by land, and the other by water. Sir Archibald Campbell was to command the former, and General Cotton the latter. Maha Bandula was at Donabew, whither the river column proceeded; but the first attack was unsuccessful, and Sir Archibald Campbell had to return to its assistance. The result of this combined attack shall be given in Lady Amherst's own words. "This morning, (April 29, 1825)" she wrote in her diary, "despatches arrived from Sir Archibald Campbell

with the glorious and cheering news of the fall of Donabew. A rocket most fortunately falling on the Maha Bandula killed him, and on the night between April 1 and 2 the garrison evacuated the fort, stores of all kinds were taken, and immense quantities of provisions. Bandula was the only Burmese general who has in any degree resisted our army. He had begun to show signs of civilization, and had issued a proclamation ordering his soldiers not to maltreat or put their prisoners to death."

People in Calcutta were beginning to feel in better spirits. Let us turn to Ava. Mrs. Judson, who, with her babe, was the only white person at liberty, wrote :—" At this period the death of Bandula was announced in the palace. The king heard it with silent amazement, and the queen, in Eastern style, smote upon her breast, and cried, 'Ama, ama.' Who could be found to fill his place? Who would venture, since the invincible Bandula had been cut off? Such were the exclamations constantly heard in the streets of Ava. The common people were speaking *low* of a rebellion in case more troops should be levied. For as yet the common people had borne the weight of the war; not a 'tical' had been taken from the royal treasury. At length the 'Pakanwoon,' who a few months before had been so far disgraced by the king as to be thrown into prison and irons, now offered himself to head a new army that should be raised on a different plan from those which had hitherto been raised, and assured the king that he would conquer the English, and restore those places that had been taken, in a very short time." The malignant representations of this man had rendered the imprisonment of the white men in Ava more vigorous than before.

After the capture of Donabew the upward march of the English army was continued to Prome, a town on the Irawadi about a hundred and fifty miles from the sea. Sir Archibald Campbell's force reached Prome on April 25, 1825, only to find it evacuated. As the rainy season was approaching, it remained there for several months, being quartered in comfortable cantonments near the town, to which the people were induced to return by the concilia-

tory and friendly behaviour of the English troops. The anxiety at Calcutta still continued. There was an outcry both in England and in India at the length and the expense of the war. Peace was sincerely desired; but Lord Amherst considered that the wisest plan was to push on as quickly as the weather would permit towards the capital. He was ready to welcome any overtures towards peace, and sent an experienced civilian to assist the general in his negotiations for this purpose. Lady Amherst reflected the universal feeling among the English in India, when she wrote in her journal "We now begin to flatter ourselves that there is a prospect of an end to the war, which has been a campaign of increasing triumphs to the British arms. We may fairly say that our foes have been beaten into suing for peace, their insolent language and high pretensions have vanished." This was not yet the case. Although it is a little difficult to trace the course of the war in Mrs. Judson's journal-letters, we can see that these pretensions were as high as ever. Fresh forces were levied, including some from the Shan States, led by some of their own warlike princesses. Negotiations for peace were several times repeated, and, as often, were broken off, owing to the arrogance of the Burmese king and his representatives. "When they came to business," as Lady Amherst wrote, "they reverted to their usual insolence of language, saying that, if the British wished for peace, they might sue for it, and that the Burmese might perhaps listen to them as tributaries to the Golden Empire." Further victories and the capture of Maloun, a town still nearer the capital, served to moderate their tone. The king seemed now thoroughly frightened. Dr. Judson, ill as he was from cruelty and disease, was sent to the Burmese camp near Maloun to interpret, and preparations were made for fortifying the capital. After a stay of six weeks Dr. Judson was sent back to Ava, and Dr. Price, the other American Missionary there, who had also been in captivity, was with one of the English prisoners, despatched to help in the negotiations. "With the most anxious solicitude," wrote Mrs. Judson, "the court awaited the arrival of the messengers; but did

not in the least relax their exertions to fortify the city. Men and beasts were at work night and day, making new stockades and strengthening old ones, and whatever buildings were in their way were immediately torn down. All articles of value were conveyed out of town, and safely deposited in some other place." The terms of peace proposed by the English were scouted. The King of Ava and his advisers were still insincere notwithstanding their fears.

One more effort was made to check the advancing force. "The offers of a general named Layah-thoo-yah," Mrs. Judson said, "were accepted, who desired to make one more attempt to conquer the English. He assured the king and government that he could so fortify Pagan as to make it impregnable. He marched to Pagan with a very considerable force, and made strong the fortifications." All was in vain. The fresh Burmese army was totally defeated, and the unfortunate general, being foolish enough to return to Ava and show himself in the king's presence, was cruelly executed. "The king caused it to be reported," added Mrs. Judson, "that this general was executed in consequence of disobeying his commands 'not to fight the English.'" At length the British General's terms were accepted. The prisoners were released, and a treaty of peace was signed at Yandabu, some forty miles from Ava, on February 24, 1826, exactly two years after the declaration of war had been made. Assam, Arrakan, and the Tenasserim Provinces were ceded to the East India Company, all pretensions over Manipur and Cachar were relinquished; a crore of rupees were to be paid as a war indemnity in four instalments; and a British Resident was to be received at the Court of Ava.

As we have tried to look at matters from the point of view from Ava through Mrs. Judson's eyes, we must give one or two further extracts from her journal-letter to complete her touching narrative. "It was on a cool, moonlight evening," she wrote, that with hearts filled with gratitude to God and overflowing with joy, we passed down the Irawadi. We now, for the first time, for more than a year and a half, felt that we were free, and no longer sub-

ject to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. With what sensations of delight, on the next morning, did I behold the masts of a steamboat, the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilised life! Next day I was introduced to the General in his camp a few miles farther down the river, and was received by him with the greatest kindness. He had a tent pitched for us near his own, took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father rather than as strangers of another country." Nor was there less joy at Calcutta at the tidings. The Governor-General and Lady Amherst were just starting for their morning ride, on April 5, 1826, when they received a message that news of peace had been received from Burma. Sir Archibald Campbell had returned by the same vessel. "Before ten o'clock," Lady Amherst wrote, "Sir Archibald, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Mangles (secretary of the latter) arrived at Barrackpore. The joy on all sides is more easily imagined then described. The troops were returning, only a certain number remained until the rest of the tribute was paid, and some regiments were left to guard the ceded provinces." Thus ended the first Burmese war. Even before the annexation of the whole country, in which subsequent insults and wars ended, the provinces ceded to the Company increased materially in prosperity. Assam was covered with tea-plantations, which now rival those of China itself; Arrakan became a fruitful granary for the neighbouring countries; and Moulmein became a flourishing sea-port.

An alarming episode in the Burmese war must here be narrated. Most of the sepoys employed in it were taken from Madras, and, not being of high caste, were not unwilling to embark on board ship; but it was different with those of the Bengal army, who, being chiefly of high caste, shrank from crossing the water. The 27th Regiment, being ordered to march by land to Arrakan, and having to provide transit for their goods, refused to start, because there was great difficulty in obtaining draught bullocks. This was a direct breach of military discipline. This regiment was quartered at Barrackpore, near the Governor-

General's country residence, where Lord Amherst and his family were then staying. When their mutinous conduct manifested itself, the Commander-in-chief hastened thither with European troops, the body-guard, and artillery. The refractory regiment was ordered to parade early on the morning of November 1, 1824. On the sepoys refusing to obey orders, they were surrounded and dispersed by the faithful troops. This was a terrible experience for Lady Amherst and her daughter. For a few hours the whole household was in imminent peril. What the danger actually was, can be stated in her own words. "Before the troops arrived at Barrackpore," she wrote in her journal, "we were for twenty-four hours in great danger and entirely at the mercy of the mutineers. Had they had any clever head among them, and seized the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief, the mutineers might probably have made their own terms. There was not a single European or person to be depended upon, and our situation was awfully alarming. Lord Amherst resolved not to leave the house and I determined not to quit him. Sarah (their daughter) behaved heroically, and, though ill, declared she would remain, and kept up her spirits, as we all did as well as we could. The Commander-in-chief returned his thanks to us both for not quitting the house, but it was a frightful scene. Some of our servants were wounded. We fortunately did not know at the moment that the night the mutiny broke out all the sentries in and about the house belonged to the 47th. The scene of action was not a quarter of a mile from this house. Many shots entered the cook-house, and many fell into the water under our windows." Happily this severe example was effectual. Other disaffected regiments returned to their allegiance, and no more was then heard about refusal to go on foreign service.

The state of India generally must now be considered. The victories under the Marquis of Hastings had greatly extended the territories of the East India Company, and a salutary awe had settled down upon the land. There was, here and there, a feeling of unrest among the people; but it was chiefly felt among the disbanded soldiery, and among

certain independent or feudatory Rajas and chieftains, who did not then regard the English Government with the same loyalty and affection as we trust and believe they do now. All eyes were at this time directed to the state and fort of Bhurtpore. The garrison of the fort had successfully resisted the assaults of Lord Lake in the Mahratta war at the commencement of this century, and an idea had arisen in the minds of the people of India that it was impregnable. The state of Bhurtpore was under the government of a Jat family. A young Raja, about seven years old, occupied the *musnud* in 1825, having been recognized as the successor of his father by Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, who, with the sanction of the Government of India, had presented him with a *khilat* of investiture. He was under the guardianship of his maternal uncle. One of his cousins, however, named Durgan Lal, usurped the throne, placed him in confinement, and put his uncle to death. Sir David Ochterlony at once issued a proclamation to the people to support their lawful sovereign, and collected a considerable force to assist him in maintaining his rights. The Governor-General, however, disapproved of this proceeding, and directed that this proclamation should be withdrawn. He was not satisfied that the Government was bound to support the young Raja, and shrank from engaging in a fresh war, while the issue of the Burmese war was still undecided. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident at Hyderabad, was appointed to his former post as Resident of Delhi. Sir David Ochterlony, a fine specimen of the brave commanders and rulers whom the last century had produced, but with perhaps, too much of the grand Oriental *bahádur* about him, was so mortified by this rebuff that he resigned his post, and soon afterwards died at Meerut. Sir Charles Metcalfe was clearly very much of the same opinion as Sir David, and in an admirable state paper maintained that the Government was pledged to interfere in the affairs of Bhurtpore. "We are bound," he wrote, "not by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpore state, nor by any claim on its part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the legal succes-

sion of the youthful Raja, Bulwant Sing." Lord Amherst was convinced by the arguments stated in this document, and had the grace to acknowledge this. Orders were given for an army to proceed to Bhurtpore, at the head of which the new Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, placed himself. The strong mud fortress of Bhurtpore was situated some miles to the west of Agra, from the gateway tower of which it could then be seen through a telescope. Bishop Heber, who was travelling in those parts early in 1826, was told that the standing army of the Raja fell short of 300 men; but no sooner was it known that Durjan Sal was about to resist the English and to defend the renowned fort, than thousands of discontented Mahrattas and Rajputs flocked to his standard. The Jats themselves were eager for the conflict. The English Army invested the fort on December 10, 1825. "The attention of all India," to quote Bishop Heber again, "is fixed on this siege, on the event of which far more than on anything which may happen in the Burman empire, the renown of the British arms, and the permanency of the British empire in Asia, must depend. The Jats are the finest people in bodily advantages and apparent martial spirit whom I have seen. * * * They are the only people in India who boast that they have never been subdued either by the Mogul Emperors or the English."

Lord and Lady Amherst had a keen personal interest in the siege of Bhurtpore. Their eldest son Jeffery, who had been acting as his father's Military Secretary, had volunteered to join his regiment there. We cannot forbear giving his mother's own statement. "This day," she wrote on September 30, 1825, "has been a gloomy and heavy one to me. My dear son Jeff announced to me his anxious wish to join his regiment, in case the siege of Bhurtpore is resolved upon; and that his father had consented to his plan, though so painful to his feelings. As to myself I am torn with the anguish of two feelings of an opposite nature, my maternal feelings for my son (in me greatly too poignant for my comfort), and my conviction that he is doing his duty and evincing a spirit and courage

worthy of his family." On January 18, 1826, the famous fortress fell. A large mine was exploded under the walls, and the victorious army entered through the breach thus made. Captain Amherst was among the assailants. Durjan Sal was caught as he was attempting to escape, and was placed in captivity, first at Allahabad and then at Benares; and the young Raja was re-placed on his throne at a state durbar held by Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe. Captain Amherst returned to Calcutta directly after the siege had ended; and, on February 6, Lady Amherst made the following entry in her journal, "Our beloved Jeff arrived from Bhurtpore in high health and spirits, having travelled ten days and nights without stopping. The excessive joy of seeing once more this dear son, so many weeks the object of such intense anxiety, has made us forget all the disappointment from Burmese treachery."

This beloved son was taken from his affectionate parents a few months after his return. Lord Amherst and his son both had attacks of intermittent fever near the end of July. The former recovered, but the latter had a relapse after partial recovery, and on the morning of August 2, 1826, he expired, "With the same placid heavenly smile on his countenance," as his mother lovingly wrote, "I had been used to see." "His calm and sweet temper," she added, "and very warm heart had endeared him to every member of society." "This death was the bitterest pang I ever felt, and shall continue to feel as long as I live."

Public affairs also lay very heavily on Lord Amherst's mind at this time. The Burmese war was very unpopular in England, and much dissatisfaction was felt by the Court of Directors regarding the mutiny at Barrackpore. There were busy rumours of his recall. All this very naturally troubled the Governor-General and Lady Amherst. "While Lord Amherst," the latter wrote, "was labouring day and night for his employers, in measures that have since proved to be highly advantageous to their interest, and for the prosperity of the country entrusted to his care, they were listening to the base falsehoods and to the base intrigues to

recall him. The Duke of Wellington evinced both magnanimity of mind and a thorough knowledge of the affairs of India. The conduct of the war being referred to him, he declared his entire approbation of the manner in which it had been conducted." Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie, in her admirable memoir of Lord Amherst, has given the letter of the illustrious Duke, which had hitherto not been published, and in which the above remark of Lady Amherst is fully justified. "There is nothing," he wrote in October, 1825, "in my opinion in the state of the war which ought to induce the Government to recall Lord Amherst. He ought not to have commenced the war without knowing a little more of the enemy he had to contend with; he ought not possibly to have sent Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon till he could co-operate with him from other quarters; but even this last opinion might be doubted. But whether the war was originally right or wrong, it is quite clear to me that the Bengal Government are now in the right road, and that nothing but the season will prevent them from putting an end to the war in a very short time." With regard to the sad mutiny at Barrackpore the Duke of Wellington wrote:—"I don't see how it is possible to find fault with Lord Amherst upon any part of this transaction. . . Not only we ought not to remove Lord Amherst on account of the mutiny, or for any of the acts preceding that misfortune, or following; but we ought to do everything in our power to support him in the performance of the duty." The Court of Directors completely changed their views on these matters, when all the facts were before them, and Lord Amherst was created by his sovereign an earl by the title of Earl Amherst of Arrakan and Viscount Holmesdale in Kent. The thanks of the Court were given to him for his active, strenuous, and persevering exertions in conducting to a successful issue the late war with the Government of Ava, prosecuted amid circumstances of very unusual difficulty, and terminated so as to uphold the character of the Company's Government, to maintain the British ascendant in India, and to impress the bordering states with just notions of the national power and resources.

The Governor-General and Lady Amherst with their daughter made at this time a prolonged state tour through the upper provinces of India. They started with heavy hearts two days after the death of their son. The entry in Lady Amherst's diary is very mournful and pathetic. "On August 4, 1826, our miserable family embarked at five o'clock in the morning. On this day Lord Amherst has resolved on resigning his situation as Governor-General, and has written to that effect. The idea of rejoining my children in England is a great comfort to us all." They went by water as far as Allahabad, and thence continued their progress by stages on land. Their encampments and their receptions were very similar to those undertaken by other Governors-General. A state visit was paid to the Nawab of Oude at Lucknow. Agra was visited, where, besides a grand durbar at which Sindia's brother-in-law was received, Lady Amherst, for the first time, held a private durbar for the reception of two Mahratta Princesses and the attendants. We will not give her account of this interview; but part of the translation of a description given by one of the Mahratta ladies herself. The whole is an amusing instance of the different impressions left by the same event on the English and the Hindu ladies. "I was so much agitated," runs the narrative, "at approaching the great lady that I could hardly breathe. She was sitting on a golden musnad of curious workmanship and resembling the mountain Kailas in splendour. She did not sit cross-legs; but with her feet hanging down to the ground in a strange manner which I cannot describe, but which I think must be very painful. On the top of her turban she wore a waving plume of white feathers resembling the wing of the Scivroogh, and on the front of the turban was a Sirpesh of light-scattering diamonds which sparkled like the Pleiades. There were a great many more of the great lord's wives present; some were very handsome, but most of them so horridly white that they appeared like figures of marble. After conversing some time, two young ladies acted as nautch girls. They sat before a kind of table on which there were a

number of ivory teeth in a row (a piano); one of the young ladies, daughter of the great lady, struck these teeth with her fingers very quick, which produced some soul-exhilarating sounds; at the same time both young ladies began to sing together. It was very pleasing and soft, like the tear-beguiling song of the bulbul. During the time we were there we heard some English tom-toms playing in the gateway; in short everything was done that could afford us pleasure and delight." Soon after this interview the Governor-General's party heard of the death of the great Dowlut Row Sindia, who had at one time been very powerful, but whose power had been curbed, owing to his having thrown in his lot against the English Government. When at Delhi Lord Amherst had an interview the venerable Emperor. There had been a difficulty at the time of the visit of the Marquis of Hastings to the North West, arising from the etiquette still observed in the Emperor's old-fashioned and effete court, where even the Governor-General would not have been permitted to sit; but the Emperor's advisers had since grown wiser, and Lord Amherst was asked to sit in these terms, "As you are my friend, as you are my protector, as you are my master, I ask you to sit down." "The only person," as Lady Amherst recorded, "except the heir-apparent, who has ever sat in the king's presence."

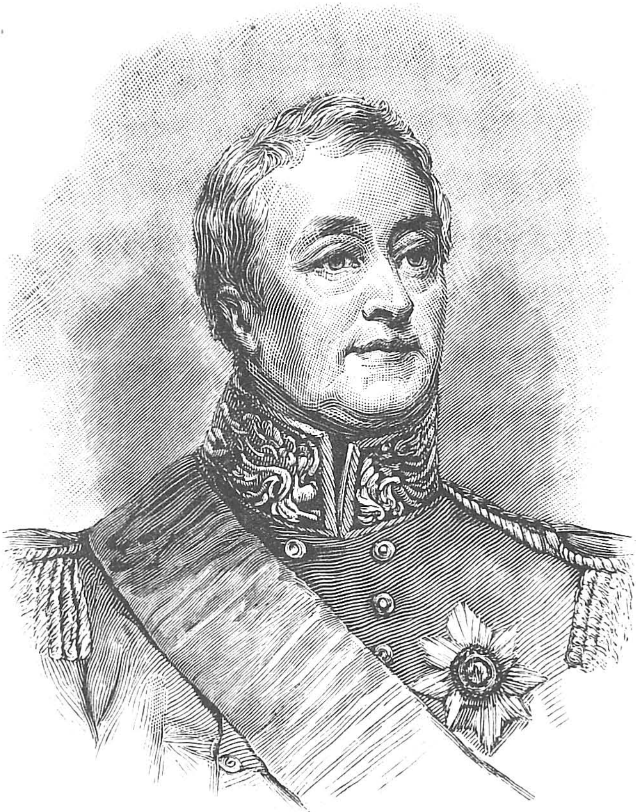
On April 5 the Governor-General's party arrived at Simla. He was the first holding this high office who had gone there for a season of rest and refreshment after the heat of the plains—a custom which has since become very common. The tour through the Upper Provinces had done much to re-instate Lord Amherst's health, for he had suffered a good deal from anxiety and domestic sorrow while at Calcutta. The stay at Simla seems to have had a similar effect on Lady Amherst. "We spend our time most monotonously," she wrote, "rising early and walking, or rather scrambling up the mountains. After breakfast, we go out with the native botanist in search of new plants. Home occupations come till five in the evening, when we sally forth again among the mountains; dine at seven, and

retire to rest at nine o'clock. This is our present life, very quiet and pleasant." On June 15 they left Simla on their return to Calcutta and eventually to England. Lady Amherst's heart rejoiced at the prospect of going home. "We could not but feel sorry to quit this peaceful abode, and the magnificent scenery of those stupendous mountains, but it was our first step towards home." The return journey to Calcutta was devoid of any striking incident. It was saddened by the Governor-General's party having to pass through large tracts of country devastated by cholera, which was very prevalent. Soon after their arrival at Calcutta they quitted it for England. The departure of the Governor-General and Lady Amherst was delayed for a time by the dangerous illness of their daughter. Directly she was well enough to be moved, they embarked on board the ship *Herald*, which sailed on March 8, 1828. Though touched by the expression of sorrow and regret which were genuinely felt at their departure by the inhabitants of Calcutta, they were not grieved to quit the country were they had been called upon to endure so much anxiety both official and domestic. We cannot truthfully say that Lord Amherst ranks among the greatest of the statesmen who have held the highly responsible office of Governor-General; but he was certainly one of the most painstaking and conscientious. He held his way steadily on the path of duty, amidst contumely and misrepresentation, and events proved that, in the main, he was right in his policy.

Lord Amherst had the privilege of being supported in his government by some of the ablest men whom British India has ever possessed. We have already mentioned some of them. Sir Thomas Munro was the Governor of Madras during the greater part of his administration. Lord Amherst was much indebted to him for counsel and help during the Burmese war, and the Presidency of Madras was peculiarly fortunate in having such an eminent man as its Governor. He died of cholera while on a tour through the Ceded Districts on July 6, 1827, sincerely regretted by his people. The Hon orable Mountstuart Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, and he is regarded

even to the present day as the most useful administrator known in that Presidency. But we cannot omit to mention Bishop Heber, from whose journal we have already quoted, and who was one of the most graceful ornaments of Lord Amherst's time. He arrived at Calcutta a few months after the Governor-General, and died at Trichinopoly when on a tour through South India on April 3, 1826. His death was felt as a deep personal sorrow by Lord and Lady Amherst. Though he had been scarcely three years in India, his simple piety and gentle manners left an indelible impression on all who met him, and his memory still is sweet. Almost his last words before his sudden death by accidental drowning were an exhortation to the Tamil Christians to be Christians not only in name but in reality, and to shine as lights before the people among whom they lived.

We return to Lord and Lady Amherst, though we need not say much regarding their subsequent career. Lord Amherst resumed the position in the Court of the King of England which he had resigned when he went to India. Lady Amherst, to his great sorrow, died in May, 1837. He married again two years afterwards, and the evening of his life was spent in the home of his childhood at Riverhead. His garden was his greatest pleasure and recreation. He died on March 13, 1857, at Knole Park, a very beautiful estate close to Sevenoaks.



LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

A.D. 1774 TO 1839.

"The system which has founded British greatness upon Indian happiness, is one of the noblest efforts of wisdom and patriotism."

Lord William Bentinck.

THE family of Bentinck is of Dutch origin. The first of the family that came to England was Hans William Bentinck, friend of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William the Third, whom he accompanied to that country at the time of the Revolution. When his patron was firmly seated on the throne, Hans William Bentinck was created Earl of Portland. He and his descendants married into some of the best and noblest English families; and, in two or three generations, became thoroughly English.

The subject of this memoir, William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, was the second son of the third Duke of Portland, who was, for a season, Prime Minister of England. He was born September 14, 1774. He entered the army as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards, and rose by rapid promotion. In the short space of two years he became a Colonel. In his earlier military career he saw a good deal of service among the great armies of the Continent of Europe, for it was a period of war and commotion throughout the world. For a time he served on the staff of the Duke of York, the English commander-in-chief in the disastrous campaign in Flanders. Then, for although young in years, he seems to have been bright and intelligent in all matters connected with his profession, he was chosen by the English Government to accompany, as their representative, the army of Marshal Suwarrow, the Austrian Commander, in North Italy and Switzerland; and, in this capacity, he sent confidential despatches to the Government regarding all that occurred in that campaign. He was present at the decisive battle of Marengo, and at most of the other engagements that took place between the Austrians and the French under their celebrated

chieftain, Napoleon Buonaparte. He thus had an opportunity of learning something of the terrible art of war and of the movement of great masses of troops, and of studying the military manœuvres of some of the greatest commanders of that day. While in Italy he took a deep interest in the political condition of that country, and in the national customs and feelings of the people, which were of much use to him in a subsequent part of his career. He afterwards joined the English army in Egypt which, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was protecting that country from the attacks of Napoleon; but, on his arrival, he found that the campaign had come to an end, and, the short-lived treaty of Amiens having been concluded, he returned to England. Soon after his return, he was, on February 19, 1803, married to Lady Mary Acheson, daughter of the Earl of Gosford. He was not, however, to settle down in peaceful ease in his own country; for, only three months after his marriage, he was appointed Governor of Madras, and thus had an opportunity of serving his sovereign in a different part of the world than any in which he had hitherto been employed.

Lord William Bentinck and his bride crossed the surf at Madras on August 30, 1803. The position of Governor of Madras, though one which had the promise of much usefulness, was not of the supreme importance that it possessed only a few years before, because the seat of power and authority had been transferred to Bengal. It was, however, a very high position for so young a man, Lord William being scarcely twenty-nine when he took his seat in the Council Chamber at Fort St. George as Governor. The Governor-General was the Marquis Wellesley, who was then engaged in the cares and responsibilities of the second Mahratta War. He sent a confidential officer on his staff to meet and welcome the new Governor, and to acquaint him with the nature of his policy and plans. We cannot forbear from quoting two or three sentences from Lord William's reply, because they clearly indicate the spirit in which he began his Indian career, and in which he desired to conduct the business of his Government. "I am quite aware," he wrote, "of the arduous and important task

which I have undertaken. The divided state of this government, and the opposition and counteraction which my predecessor received, are circumstances much to be lamented, which tend to destroy all the vigour and efficiency so imperiously required in the management of this great unsettled territory." I am determined, he added, to maintain "a steady resolution to do what is right, uninfluenced by party or prejudice, careless and fearless of the result." The Governor-General was pleased with the sentiments expressed in this letter, and in his next despatch commended "the truly British spirit, sound judgment, and hereditary integrity and honour" shown in it.

Remembering the much higher position to which Lord William Bentinck was hereafter to be promoted, it is gratifying to observe how sincerely he desired that the Government of India should be conducted on the sound principle of ever keeping in view the prosperity and happiness of the people of India. We now quote a portion of a letter which he wrote to the Governor-General when forwarding an address to him from Madras in May, 1804. One phrase in it expresses in brief, epigrammatic form the very kernel of the true success of English rule in India. That phrase is contained in the last sentence of the quotation, namely, the "system" of Government "which has founded British greatness upon Indian happiness." "It is most pleasing to reflect," he wrote, "that the result of the (Mahratta) war, affords a hope of equal benefit to the great mass of the people whose rulers have been conquered." Then, after referring to former wars and depredations that had taken place throughout the land, he goes on, "justice, order, consideration of public and private rights nowhere appear in relief of this melancholy picture. Happily a period has arrived to these barbarous excesses. That system of policy which could embrace the whole of India, which could comprehend in one bond of mutual defence and reciprocal forbearance the predatory chiefs of this great Empire, deserves the admiration of all the civilised world. That system, one of the noblest efforts of the wisdom and patriotism of a subject, which has founded British greatness

upon Indian happiness, demands in a particular manner the thanks and applause of this country." Such sentiments as these are as applicable to the India of 1894 as to the India of 1804.

It must have been very humiliating to turn from thoughts and sentiments like these to the irritating and petty squabbles that disturbed the Council Chamber in Madras. An inhabitant of Madras, we believe it was the well-known philanthropist Patchappa, had left a sum of money to be expended in local charities. The Chief Justice and some Members of Council differed from the Governor as to the manner in which this money ought to be spent. It was a trifling matter, and yet it led to much heated dissension and dissension, which, at the present day, seems peculiarly undignified and useless. There was another cause of dissension, which related to the appointment of a Member of Council, and which, as the Court of Directors had overruled the Governor's recommendation and had appointed another person, who was obnoxious to him, caused him to feel that the Court was inclined to disapprove of his actions and to thwart his policy.

But a greater event then any of these petty, personal quarrels drew on Madras the attention of all who were interested in India. This was the mutiny at Vellore. It is not our purpose to relate the narrative of this sudden and terrible event, which, in the midst of profound peace, startled the dwellers in British India, except as it touches the life of Lord William Bentinck himself. The sepoys of the Madras army had, as a rule, been thoroughly loyal in their allegiance to the British Government. Some of the greatest victories in the by-gone century had been won by them under Clive and Lawrence and Coote. They had contributed materially to the foundation of the British Empire in India. They were devoted to their officers, but they needed officers who respected and understood them. Just at the time of which we are writing there were in high command officers who did not understand them. An order was issued, on November 14, 1805, requiring the sepoys to wear a new head-dress, lighter and more suitable, it might

be, than the ugly, yet curiously picturesque, turban which they had hitherto worn; but they were accustomed to the latter, and suspected something underhand in the change. This idea was confirmed when, a few months later, another order was issued forbidding them to wear their earrings and marks of caste when on parade. This at once confirmed the idea that there was something behind, and the sepoys concluded that the Government intended to convert them forcibly to Christianity. Of course this was untrue, and the orders were merely the result of a piece of foolish military discipline. A regiment stationed at Vellore refused to put on the new turban. Two ringleaders were punished, and the rest who had been tried by Court-Martial were acquitted. The Commander-in-chief applied to the Governor, and intimated that he was willing to give way; but Lord William Bentinck was of opinion that it was better to remain firm, became "yielding in the face of force was to be avoided." Early in the morning of July 10, 1806, the sepoys at Vellore rose against their English officers and the slender garrison of English soldiers there. Many were killed, but the survivors bravely defended themselves until the help came from Arcot, and the mutiny was vigorously suppressed. It extended no further, and the distasteful orders regarding the sepoys' dress were withdrawn by the Governor's own command.

A special commission was appointed to examine into the causes of this sad matter, and it reported that the causes were two fold—the dissatisfaction with the orders about dress, and the intrigues of the family of Tippoo Sultan. The sons of Tippoo with their attendants had, since their father's overthrow, been residing at Vellore. Their adherents may have taken advantage of the prevailing discontent to carry on a Muhammadan intrigue; but the main cause was caste prejudice and ungrounded fears of something sinister behind. The Court of Directors considered that Lord William Bentinck was very much to blame for the part he took in these transactions, and for the want of foresight and tact which he had exhibited. He ought, they considered, to have inquired more carefully

into the feelings of the sepoys and to have ascertained more accurately the temper of the army. "Of the uprightness of his intentions," they wrote, "we have no doubt, and we have had pleasure in expressing our satisfaction with different measures of his government; but others, which we felt ourselves obliged to disapprove, impaired our confidence in him, and after weighing all the considerations connected with the business of Vellore, we felt ourselves unable longer to continue that confidence to him, which it is necessary for a person holding his situation to possess." Three years later, on his presenting a memorial to the Court, they adhered to their opinion, and "regretted that greater caution had not been exercised in examining into the real sentiments and disposition of the sepoys." Lord William Bentinck gave over charge of the Government of Madras on September 11, 1807.

When the late Governor of Madras returned to England, the campaign by the English against the French in the Peninsula of Portugal and Spain was just commencing. He had attained the rank of Major General, and was glad to join the army on active employment. He commanded a brigade at the battle of Corunna, in which occurred the death of Sir John Moore, whose burial is celebrated in one of the most pathetic poems in the English language. The most important services, however, which Lord William Bentinck performed during this war were in the island of Sicily. He was appointed, in 1811, to command the English troops in that island, which, being near Italy, rendered the presence of the English forces of great value in checking the devices of Napoleon in that country. He was one of the first English statesmen that realized the desirability of Italy being converted into an independent kingdom. One of the chief objects intended by the Government in having a force in the Mediterranean was to co-operate with Lord Wellington in his campaign in Spain by landing an Anglo-Sicilian army on the east coast of that land; but Lord William, his mind being full of other projects, did not sufficiently enter into this plan, and the only attempt made was unsuccessful. Sir William Napier, the great historian

of the Peninsula campaigns did not approve of his conduct, and has called him "a man of resolution, capacity, and spirit, just in his actions, and abhorring oppression, but of a sanguine impetuous disposition." Lord William Bentinck had no easy task to perform in Sicily, because the Queen of Naples, who, with her family, had been driven by Napoleon from the main land to the island, was bent on thwarting all English influence. The imbecile king resigned in favour of his son, and a Parliament, on the English plan, was created. A new constitution, which Lord William had himself drawn up, was proclaimed in Palermo on July 20, 1812. In 1814 he successfully led an army from Leghorn, where he landed, to Genoa, which he captured; but he could not rouse the Italians to unite in making themselves independent and free. He laid down the command of the British forces in the Mediterranean on May 24, 1815, just three weeks before the decisive battle of Waterloo brought to Europe the blessings of a long peace.

The next twelve years of Lord William's life produced few incidents worthy of record here. He sat in the House of Commons as member for Lynn. He chiefly occupied himself in matters connected with Italy and Sicily. In 1819 he was again offered the appointment of Governor of Madras, but declined to accept a post from which he considered that he had been unjustly removed. He was a candidate for the appointment of Governor-General, when the term of office of the Marquis of Hastings came to an end; but that position was given to Lord Amherst. When, however, that nobleman retired, the Court of Directors appalled by the large deficit created by the war in Burma, and still adhering to the policy of economy and retrenchment which had always characterized them, chose as Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, who, they hoped, would be ready to pursue a course of peace and a policy of economy. Though appointed in July, 1827, he did not leave England at once, but assumed charge on July 4, 1828, just a year later.

There is no doubt that Lord William Bentinck, as other Governors-Generals before him, was sincerely desirous to

carry into practice the principles of Government which the Court of Directors had enjoined, and the circumstances of the time fortunately enabled him to do what they were unable to effect. India, from no fault of its English rulers, had long been afflicted by both internal and external war. It was now blessed with profound peace, and Lord William Bentinck's administration was happily one of quiet tranquillity. He was thus in a position to carry out certain necessary measures of reform, and both Hindu and Muhammadan can look back to his time with gratitude and satisfaction.

His first act unfortunately brought him into collision with English military officers. This was to carry into effect orders which the Court of Directors had been for many years determined to issue on which they were resolved to insist. It had been the custom for the English officers of the sepoy regiments to draw full batta, and this had lasted so long that it was at last regarded as a right. The Court directed that this should be reduced by one half, and the order commonly known as the "half batta order," was issued in November, 1828. This measure brought the Governor-General into great and undeserved unpopularity. The directions of the Court were peremptory, and he had nothing to do but to obey them. He himself said, when forwarding certain remonstrances to England, that he would be sincerely gratified if the Court should see fit to reconsider their orders. The clamour against him individually soon died out. It may be mentioned that, notwithstanding the virulence of the attacks made upon him in the press, he exercised against it none of the powers he possessed; but, when once the order of the Directors was published, he forbad all discussion, feeling that the time for comment had past.

When Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General, he entered on an inheritance of public debt. He found a deficit of a crore of rupees; but he set himself resolutely to the task of correcting this serious defect both by a reduction of expenditure and by creating an increase of revenue. More fortunate than his predecessors in enjoying a period of peace, he was not thwarted in his policy by the terrible incubus of war. Two commissions or committees were

appointed to make full inquiries into both the military and the civil expenses. Reductions were made in the military expenditure. Reforms were made in the civil administration. The chief improvement effected was in the settlement of the North West Provinces, which had for many years been in progress, under Mr. Robert Merttins Bird, one of the best and ablest revenue officers in the Bengal Civil Service. This settlement was effected with the object and the sincere desire not only of simplifying the collection, and of increasing the amount, of the revenue, but also of conducing to the growing prosperity and happiness of the people. Of course Lord William was not himself the author of this excellent settlement, but he was responsible for seeing it properly carried into effect; and he was greatly assisted in this and other reforms by his two very able members of Council, Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Lord William Bentinck also carried out the wishes of the Court of Director in more fully employing Hindus and Muhammadans in the public service. Hitherto they had been employed only in very subordinate posts; but, during the present administration, large and more important powers were given to them, and the way was prepared for the much larger share in the government of the country which they now possess. The right way to govern India is by the best of the people themselves under English supervision and control. This is well put in a despatch sent at that time to the Governor-General from the President of the Board of Control, "We have a great moral duty to perform to the people of India. We must give them a good and permanent government. In doing this we confer a greater benefit upon the people of this country than in sacrificing the interests of India to the apparent present interests of England. The real interests of both countries are the same." We believe that these are the sentiments which the Governors-General and the other rulers of India have always entertained, and upon which they have honestly desired to act.

We believe that Lord William Bentinck faithfully

desired to act upon them in the next two measures which we shall mention, and with which his name is, perhaps, more indissolubly connected than with any others—namely, the suppression of Thuggee and the abolition of Suttee.

It is well-known what an appalling scourge to the country the Thugs were. The secret and subtle manner in which they decoyed, and then murdered their victims, by rapidly strangling them, need not be related, for all the people of India know it well by tradition though the present generation are not acquainted with it personally as their fathers and grandfathers were by the frequent loss of dear relatives and friends. Special means were taken by the Governor-General to ensure the suppression of these public enemies and pests. Systematic means were adopted for stamping them out in all parts of the country where this pernicious practice was most rife; numbers of Thugs were tracked, captured, and brought to justice; and the whole murderous brotherhood was broken up and destroyed.

But the great measure by which the name of Lord William Bentinck has been endeared to Hindus is the abolition of Suttee. A few Hindus may, perhaps, be still found, who imagine that this rite was an integral part of their ancient religion, and ought, therefore, not to have been abolished; but these must be very few indeed, and thousands of helpless women who have been spared a painful and cruel death, have had cause to bless the memory of Lord William Bentinck. The attention of successive Governors-General as well as that of others in lower authority had been drawn to this practice; but, though it was universally condemned by Englishmen, and by highminded Hindus like Rammohun Roy, it was considered dangerous to abolish it for fear of interfering with the religious customs of the Hindus and of creating disaffection and discontent. The new Governor-General, warned by his experience at Madras in connection with the mutiny of Vellore, was particularly careful in making inquiries on the subject and in fully ascertaining the mind of the people. He acted in the most cautious way. Both the civil and the military

authorities were consulted. Those who were most learned in the languages and the customs of the Hindus were asked their opinion. The judges and officers of the Nizamut Adawlut gave their judgment in favour of abolition, and the experienced members of the Supreme Council agreed with them. Having thus taken beforehand every precaution to ascertain the feelings of the Hindu people, the Government acted, and a Regulation dated December 4, 1829, was past, declaring that the practice of Suttee was illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts. This practice, it was said, was revolting to the feelings of human nature, and was nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty.

Lord William Bentinck, a few weeks before this Regulation was past, wrote a long Minute on the subject, giving his own personal views on it, and reviewing the evidence that had been laid before him. As we are looking at the matter specially from his point of view, we think that we shall serve our purpose best by making a few quotations from this celebrated paper, in order to show how completely he was influenced by the desire of doing just what was most for the benefit of the Hindu people, as well as by the wish "to wash out a foul stain upon British rule" and upon humanity. He begins by stating the deep responsibility incurred by the decision to be arrived at, and the heavy weight on his own conscience regarding it. "Prudence and self-interest," he says, "would counsel me to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors; but, in a case of such momentous importance to humanity and civilisation that man must be reckless of all his present and future happiness who could listen to the dictates of so wicked and selfish a policy. With the firm, undoubting conviction entertained upon this question, I should be guilty of little short of the crime of multiplied murder if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation. I have been already stung with this feeling. Every day's delay adds a victim to the dreadful list." He then, "praying the blessing of God upon our counsels," proceeds to state all his reasons, which we need not here set forth in full. After stating the

opinions from various quarters which he had received, he says, "It may be justly asserted that the Government in this act will only be following, not preceding, the tide of public opinion long flowing in this direction." "The first and primary object of my heart," he emphatically asserts, "is the benefit of the Hindus. I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then view with more calmness acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence, that to the command received as divine by all races of men, 'No innocent blood shall be spilt,' there can be no exception; and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped that others which stand in the way of their improvement may likewise pass away, and that, thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their just place among the great families of mankind?" This was very plain speaking, and the result shows the benefit of speaking out plainly and candidly on such great questions as these. If a thing is morally wrong it is better to say clearly that it is so, whether the writer is a Governor-General or a private individual, than to slur the matter over and leave people to imagine that he was no opinions of his own or strength of mind to declare them. He then adds what the Government of India has constantly affirmed: "I disown in these remarks or in this measure any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel." We have thus given a few of the sentiments of the Governor-General on this very important subject, because as we are writing a sketch of his life, we wish to present the whole subject in the way in which it

presented itself to him. The only comment we need add is that the Hindu community at large and millions of Hindu women from that time to this, as well as those yet unborn, have, and will continue to have, every reason to bless the name of Lord William Bentinck, without whose energetic action this beneficent measure might never have been past.

Another important measure past during his administration was a regulation which really had the effect of upholding liberty of conscience. It was a principle of the English Government from the earliest times that both Muhammadan and Hindu should, in matters connected with property, inherit according to the laws of the religion to which each might belong. Hindu legislators had enacted that ancestral property should descend only to those who performed the funeral rites of the deceased whose property he inherited, thus, of course, disinheriting all who, for conscience sake, had forsaken their hereditary religion. Lord William Bentinck, taking advantage of the opportunity of re-enacting certain regulations, introduced a clause providing that "the Hindu and Muhammedan law of inheritance should apply only to those who were *bonâ-fide* professors of those religions at the time of its application." He also past a Regulation permitting converts to Christianity to hold appointments under Government, which, prior to 1831, they had been unable to do. A clause in the Regulation referred to enacted that no one should be excluded from office on account of caste, creed, or nation. These provisions were wise and just, and all classes of the Indian community have thus been benefited.

Another measure by which Lord William Bentinck's administration was rendered memorable was one regarding education. There was at that time a sharp conflict between two parties—one advocating the use of English as the official language of the country, and as the language of education; and the other maintaining that Persian should be retained as the language used in courts of law, and Sanskrit and Arabic as the medium for instruction. One party were called "Anglicists" and the other "Orientalists."

The Governor-General was decidedly in favour of the former; but the one whose opinion carried the day was Mr., afterwards Lord, Macaulay, the distinguished essayist, poet, and historian. He had recently been appointed the first Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council. This question of language became about the time of his arrival in India very acute. There was then sitting a General Committee of Public Instruction, of which he was appointed President; but he declined to act on it until the Government had decided what course it would take on this vital question. The members of this Committee were equally divided. The scale was turned by a very powerful paper by Mr. Macaulay as a member of the Supreme Council. This minute, written in his clear, classic style, has become quite historic. It was, in fact, the beginning of a new era in the education of the youth of India, and it will be not too much to say that the educational policy of the Government of twenty years later was founded on the principles that it advocated. There was, of course, something to be said on the other side of the question. Encouragement ought to be given by a Government situated as the Government of India is, to the study of Oriental languages, like Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian; but there can be no controverting the fact asserted by Macaulay that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." In advocating a language, to be used as the means of instruction he eloquently pleaded for English. "It stands," he said, "pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions which considered merely as narratives have seldom been surpassed, and which considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the

health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man." These principles were affirmed in the Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, dated March 7, 1835, which said that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the people of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed on English education alone." English has since become the classical language of India. Hindus, early taught to use it even in their homes, speak it, in many instances, as fluently and correctly as Englishmen themselves; it has become the language of education, of commerce, and of social intercourse; and Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and above all, the English Bible, are better known than the Vedas, the Mahabharata, and the Ramayana. But a word must be spoken for the Anglicists of those days. While they advocated English as the language of education as against Arabic and Sanskrit, they never intended that the Vernaculars of India—the languages spoken by the people, should be neglected, especially in the case of lower education.

During this administration great efforts were made in several parts of India, and particularly in Rajputana, to put down the inhuman practice of infanticide. These efforts were attended with considerable success. One of the Rajput chiefs, the Maharana of Udaipur and others had issued orders for its suppression, and the Governor-General wrote with his own hand a letter of congratulation and approval to each, of which we give the following specimen: "It is with pleasure that I advert to a subject which excites in my breast feelings of pure and unmixed satisfaction. It appears that your Highness has issued an order prohibiting the practice of female infanticide. The fact that it has been issued furnishes a proof that your personal conduct is influenced by genuine philanthropy; and the circumstance is accepted by me as a pledge of your readiness to use your best endeavours to put down a crime, the entire suppression of which is an object which the British Government has much at heart." This was no mere cold official note, but a warm and graceful acknowledgment of a

right act, which was worthy of a statesman in Lord William Bentinck's high position when addressing a friendly ally.

With the exception of the brief war in Coorg, the time of Lord William's administration was eminently peaceful. The Rajah of that small state had been guilty of injustice and inhumanity to such an extent that, when, after a campaign of only ten days, his territory was conquered, and annexed to the British dominions, even his own people rejoiced. Negotiations were conducted with several states, the principal of which were the Punjab and Mysore.

Mysore, which, on the downfall of Tippoo, had been placed in the hands of the youthful representative of the ancient Rajahs, was admirably governed during the days of Poornea, the prime minister; but, when he was set on one side, it rapidly degenerated, and the state of affairs became so bad that the Governor-General placed the whole country under the Government of the British officers, under which it remained until 1881, when it was restored to the Maharajah's descendant on his becoming of age.

Negotiations with Runjít Sing also took place to which we need not now more particularly refer, but which had an important bearing on the affairs of the next administration by inducing the sovereign of the Punjab to place confidence in the intentions of the English Government, and hereafter to join the well-known Tripartite Treaty against Dost Muhammad. An interview between Lord William Bentinck and Runjít Sing occurred at Rupar on the Sutlej on October 22, 1831. The former came down from Simla, where he was then staying, and delighted Runjít Sing, who was most apprehensive of treachery, by the cordiality of his reception.

The Governor-General was most anxious to see things with his own eyes, and, with this object, took several tours to the North-West Provinces, the newly acquired province of Lower Burma, and the Presidency of Madras. Latterly, his health quite gave way, and he was obliged to go, for change of scene, to Ootacamund in the midst of what Lord Tennyson called,

"The sweet half-English Neilgherry air." He was

staying at that pleasant retreat, when, in the year 1834, the new arrangements for the Government required by the renewal of the East India Company's Charter had to be made; and thither Mr. Macaulay, the new legal Member of Council, went from Madras on his arrival from England, and first took his seat in the Council held there. When Lord William was at Calcutta, he showed what his nephew, Mr. Greville, called "magnificent hospitality." He was assisted right royally in this by Lady William Bentinck, who was also his true helpmeet in all his numerous charities and gifts. This lady, whom Sir Charles Metcalfe called "most engaging," was a delightful character, and, even when her husband was in disfavour with the English public quite won the hearts of all the society of Calcutta, whether English or Hindu. She was full of kindliness and sympathy, and so thoroughly unselfish that she had a scrupulous fear even of trespassing on the ease and convenience of others. We cannot refrain from quoting part of what her nephew said of her at the time of her death. "She was not merely charitable," he wrote, "but charity itself, not only in relieving and assisting the necessitous, but in always putting the most indulgent constructions on the motives and conduct of others, in a childlike simplicity, in believing the best of everybody, and an incredulity of evil report, which proceeded from a mind itself incapable of doing wrong. Hers was one of those rare dispositions which nature had made of its very best materials." Instead of "nature" we would have written "God," because she seems to have been as pious as she was sweet and attractive. She survived her husband about four years, and died April 30, 1843.

Lord William Bentinck's character has been viewed from two opposite sides by those who approved, and by those who disapproved, of his measures. We give the estimate formed of it by his two most distinguished colleagues, Lord Macaulay and Lord Metcalfe, both of whom had the very best means, and the most frequent opportunities, of making themselves acquainted with it, and of forming an independent judgment. Both are above suspicion of party

feeling. Lord Macaulay wrote, soon after making his acquaintance: "He is, as far as I can yet judge, all that I have heard; that is to say, rectitude, openness, and good-nature, personified." Many months of continual intercourse confirmed him in this opinion, and he summed up his feelings towards him in the closing words of his article on Lord Clive, with which we purpose to conclude this sketch; and, on his being requested to omit that clause in the above article, he wrote this strong expression: "I cannot consent to leave out the well-earned compliment to my dear old friend, Lord William Bentinck, of whom Victor Jacquemont said as truly as wittily, that he was William Penn on the throne of the Great Mogul, and at the head of two hundred thousand soldiers." Lord Metcalfe's first impression was that the Governor-General was unaffected, open, candid, and benevolent. This is the more valuable, because he imagined that Lord William's mind had been set against him, and that his manner towards himself was cold and reserved. This estrangement soon passed off. These two eminent statesmen worked cordially together, from that time until the day when Metcalfe returned to Calcutta, after a brief absence, to bid the departing Governor-General an affectionate farewell, and, for a season, to take his place.

Lord William Bentinck was most happy in having had a peaceful period for his rule in India. It was a green and cheerful oasis between times of war both within the country and without. He came to occupy the Governor-General's seat at Calcutta avowedly as a reformer; and in this direction he used his opportunity to the best advantage. He knew that he had behind him the approval, and, more than the approval, the instructions, of the Court of Directors, who, as in the case of exercising economy and of making reductions in the expenditure had given him their most imperative orders. He found the Government a crore of rupees in debt: he left it with a surplus of a crore and a half. He will be best remembered by that great measure, the abolition of Suttee; but what he did for education, for the improvement of the settlement in the

North-West Provinces, for the reformation of the civil service and the judicial department, for the more generous employment of Hindus and Muhammadans in the service of the state, has left broad marks of good, which have deepened and broadened in later years; and it is scarcely too much to say that recent reforms have been carried out on the lines which he and his distinguished coadjutors laid down.

Lord William left Calcutta March 20, 1835. On his return to his native land, he was offered a seat in the House of Lords, but he declined it because he wished to serve again in political life in the House of Commons. Two years later he was elected member for the city of Glasgow in Scotland; but he did not do much service in Parliament as he spent a good deal of his time in Paris. He died there on June 17, 1839.

A monument was erected to his memory on the *maidán* in Calcutta, which was raised partly by English, but chiefly by Hindu, subscriptions, and which bears the following inscription written by Lord Macaulay: "To William Cavendish Bentinck, who ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; who, placed at the head of a great Empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen; who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of Government is the happiness of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge." Referring to this monument Lord Macaulay himself says, when speaking of Clive in his capacity of a reformer, nor will history deny to him "a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindus will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck."

THE EARL OF AUCKLAND.

THE EARL OF AUCKLAND.

FROM A. D. 1784 TO 1849.

> "What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!
> Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just;
> And he but naked, though locked up in steel;
> Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."
>
> *Shakespeare.*

IN the neighbourhood of Beckenham in the county of Kent, about ten miles from London, is a pleasant estate, called Eden Farm. The house is now deserted and in ruins. George Eden, afterwards the Earl of Auckland and Governor-General of India, was born there on August 25th, 1784. He was the second son of William Eden, a very great friend and colleague of the distinguished statesman, William Pitt, who did such good service as Prime Minister of England at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. His father, who, in 1793, was created a peer with the title of Lord Auckland, died suddenly in 1814, and was succeeded by his son George, his eldest son having died four years before. Lady Auckland was the sister of Lord Minto, who was Governor-General of India from 1807 to 1813.

The subject of this memoir took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Oxford in 1806, and in 1809 he was called to the English Bar, thus adopting the law as his nominal profession. His real profession, however, was that of politics. He entered the House of Commons in 1811, and joined the party which was then generally known as the 'Whig' party. When his friends came into power under Lord Grey, he entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. He was afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty under his great friend Lord Melbourne, Lord Grey's successor as Prime Minister of England. On the receipt of Lord William Bentinck's resignation, the Court of Directors were very anxious that the appointment of Governor-General should be conferred on that eminent civilian Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, as senior Member of Council at

Calcutta, assumed charge of the office on Lord William Bentinck's departure; but the Cabinet thought it wiser to act on the principle laid down by Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, that the highest office of the Government of India should be occupied by an English statesman, the reason being, as explained in a previous memoir, that the Governor-General should be perfectly free from Indian cliques or parties. Another English nobleman was appointed by the Tory party, which had acceded to power at that time for a few months; but, when the Whigs again came into office, this appointment was cancelled, and it was given to Lord Auckland—a proceeding which seems to us most inconsistent, because it made the interests of India of less esteem than the promotion of party and political interests. This ought never to be the case whatever party is in power. There was no doubt, however, as to the satisfaction with which Lord Auckland's name was generally received. He was a good man of business, was heartily desirous of doing good, was ready to learn and to adapt himself to new ideas and modes of thought. As he expressed himself at the banquet given in his honour by the Court of Directors before he left England, he looked forward with exultation to the new prospects opening out before him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures, of promoting education and knowledge, of improving the administration of justice in India, and of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to millions in that country. He was quiet and unostentatious in manner, and he was, almost to a fault, too prone not to rely on his own judgment and resources.

Lord Auckland sailed from Portsmouth on October 3, 1835, in the frigate *Jupiter*. He was accompanied by two of his sisters, the Honorable Misses Emily and Frances Eden. These ladies had the strongest affection for their brother, whose home they did so much to brighten and enliven. They loved him, as Mr. Greville, a chatty chronicler of those times, said, "as a husband, a brother, and a friend combined in one." Their letters giving an account

of their impressions of India afford us a pleasant insight into the Governor-General's household; and, like the journals to which we have in former memoirs referred, enable us to see public events from within as well as from without. The voyage to India lasted five months, which was a long time for one of His Majesty's ships to take. They arrived at Calcutta about ten o'clock on the evening of March 4, 1836; and, even at that late hour, the new Governor-General took the customary oaths and thus assumed charge of his high office. One of his first ceremonies of state was the investiture of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been acting as Governor-General for the past two years, with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath in recognition of his services to the State. The manner in which Lord Auckland performed this duty showed the kindliness of his heart. He concluded his short speech, which much pleased those who heard it, by saying that he could have no better object set before him than the endeavour to emulate Sir Charles's example. It was a pleasant ceremony and a worthy beginning to the Governor-General's administration, so that the looking of it from another point of view is not intended to detract from its dignity, but to show his character as a man. His sister Emily writes in her journal-letter the evening before the ceremony took place:—"Visited George in his room, and he rehearsed the speech to Sir Charles Metcalfe which he is to make to-morrow, and I acted Sir Charles, and stood steady to have the red ribbon put on me."

The first nineteen months were spent in Calcutta with occasional visits to Barrackpore. Lord Auckland and his sisters were during this time becoming accustomed to life in India. The heat tried them very much, and the ladies were continually looking back with regret to the scenes and friends they had left in England. They liked Barrackpore much better than Calcutta, because the house and grounds there looked more English. "Barrackpore is a charming place," one sister wrote, "like a beautiful English villa on the banks of the Thames—so green and fresh; the house just holds George, Fanny (the pet name for

Frances) and me, the rest of the party all sleep in thatched cottages built in the park; the drawing and dining rooms are immense, and each person requires two or three rooms besides a bath in this country, so as to be able to change rooms from the sun." "The house," the younger sister wrote, "is the perfection of comfort, and, moreover, holds only three: the aides-de-camp and waiters live in little bungalows about the park, which is a thorough English one, with plenty of light and shade. The gardens are very pretty." They spent many happy days there. Lord Auckland was immersed in business, which apparently he enjoyed. He had much to learn, and liked learning it. These early months were not marked by any important political events. We need not linger over them, and it will be sufficient just to give a brief description of the daily life at Government House at Calcutta. "We breakfast at nine," Miss Emily Eden wrote, "and dawdle about the hall for a quarter of an hour, reading the papers, and doing a little civility to the household; then Fanny and I go to the drawing-room and work and write till twelve, when I go up to my own room, and read and write till two. At two we all meet for luncheon, and George brings with him anybody who may happen to be doing business with him at the time. I pay George a short visit after luncheon, and then I go up to my own room, and have three hours and a half comfortably by myself. At six we go out. George and I ride every day. Dine at eight, and retire at ten." With certain variations this was the usual routine. The Governor-General was hard at work during the greater part of the day. This mode of life suited him, and when he had been a year in the country it seemed to him as if it had been only half that time. The brother and sisters were drawn very near to each other during this constant intercourse; and the elder wrote regarding him: "I really feel every day that I would not be away from George for any earthly consideration. If it were in the slightest degree possible to repay him any part of the obligation I owe him, this is, I think, the only opportunity. He could not have existed

here alone, and, for want of other colleagues, I see constantly that it is a comfort to him to have me to talk over his little brothers with."

A great change in this quiet life was now made. On October 21, 1837, Lord Auckland and his sisters, accompanied by the large retinue required to keep up the Governor-General's state, started for a tour through the Upper Provinces to Simla. They arrived there on April 3, 1838, having been nearly six months on the way. Miss Eden gives a picturesque account of the start from Calcutta early in the morning of October 21. When the Governor-General's party came down to the large hall of Government House for coffee in the gloaming of the morn, they found a number of their particular friends assembled to bid them farewell. Even Mr. Macaulay had come for this purpose. The two Misses Eden soon drove down to the landing-place. A double line of troops was drawn up on each side of the road from Government House to the river, through which Lord Auckland walked, and his sister records that he was "not so shy as he used to be at these ceremonies." "The instant he arrived at the ghaut," she adds, "he gave a general good-bye, offered me his arm, and we walked off as fast as we could. The guns fired, the gentlemen waved their hats, and so we left Calcutta." They were not to return for four years and a half, during which momentous events occurred, and then only to bid farewell to India. They went as far as Benares by water, and proceeded thence by land, going by certain fixed stages day by day, and halting at important towns, where receptions and durbars were held. The life was quite new to them; and at first, having been accustomed to dwelling in houses, they found it strange and uncomfortable. They soon got used to it, however, and were evidently pleased by its novelty. This is how Miss Eden describes her first experience of camp life: "We landed at five, and drove four miles through immense crowds and much dust to our camp. The first evening of tents was more uncomfortable than I had ever fancied. Everybody kept saying, 'What a magnificent camp!' and I thought I

never had seen such squalid, melancholy discomfort. George, Frances, and I have three private tents, and a fourth, to make up the square, for our sitting-room, and great covered passages, leading from one tent to the other. They say that everybody begins by hating their tents and ends by loving them, but at present I am much prepossessed in favour of a house. Opposite to our private tents is the great dining tent, and the durbar tent, which is less shut up, and will be less melancholy to live in." Again, "George cannot endure his tent," she wrote, "or the camp life altogether, and it certainly is very much opposed to all his habits of business and regularity."

Miss Eden was delighted with her peep at Benares, where they threaded the narrow streets first in carriages, then on elephants, and, where the streets were too strait, in tonjons. They saw some beautiful temples, and altogether it seemed to her 'a curious sight.' One evening they went to the Raja's country-house at Ramnuggur. The Governor-General went "first in the silver tonjon which took him down to the boat, then in the other state silver tonjon that took him up from the ghaut, and then a back view of him on his elephant." Then comes a passage which we may appropriately call a private view of the Governor-General:—"I often wonder whether it really can be George, the original, simple, quiet one. He does it very well, but detests a great part of the ceremonies, particularly embracing the rajas." She was particularly struck by the illuminations. "Wherever there was a straight line, or a window, or an arch, there was a row of little bright lamps; every cross of the lattices in every window had its little lamp."

At Cawnpore the son of the Nawab of Oude came to meet his Excellency, and was received at a state durbar. A few days afterwards a visit was paid to the Nawab at Lucknow, where, the Nawab being ill, the honours were done by his son. The Governor-General's party were entertained at the Residency, Lord Auckland himself remaining at Cawnpore. The poor invalid Nawab was, however, quite touched, according to Mr. Macnaghten's

account, by the letter in which he had praised the heir-apparent's demeanour, the latter salaaming three times over his outstretched hand. The Nawab's garden charmed the ladies. "There are four small palaces in it," Miss Eden says, "fitted up with velvet and gold and marble, with arabesque ceilings, orange trees and roses in all directions, with quantities of wild paroquets of bright colours glancing about. In one palace there was an immense bathroom of white marble, the arches intersecting each other, and the marble inlaid with cornelian and bloodstone; and in every corner of the palace there were little fountains." She pronounces it a very garden of delights.

Very different were the scenes they beheld on their starting from Cawnpore. For several months a famine had been raging in the Upper Provinces, and it had been seriously suggested that the Governor-General's progress should be arrested, owing to the drain which the large camp might occasion; but the wants of the camp were supplied from Oude, which had not been thus afflicted, and the march was continued. The entries in Miss Eden's journal are very sad. "There has been no rain for a year and a half; the cattle all died, and the people are all dying or gone away. They are employed at Cawnpore by Government; every man who likes to do the semblance of a day's work is paid for it, and there is a subscription for feeding those who are unable to work at all." When once the great camp had started, the party, unaccustomed to such scenes, were deeply moved at the distress they were obliged to witness. The large assemblage, however, were able to do more good than harm. Being well supplied from Oude, "we can give away more than other travellers." In fact, the greatest kindness and attention were shown to the starving people who swarmed about the camp.

Prince Henry of Orange, son of the King of Holland, joined the camp at Futtehpore, and left the Governor-General's party at Lucknow. He is described as a fair, quiet-looking boy, very shy and very silent. "His father wrote such a pretty letter to George about him," writes Miss Eden, and the fact of this fresh, easily pleased youth

being in the camp, added an additional zest to the life which was evidently becoming very attractive to all concerned. Delhi, in its splendid decay, particularly struck Miss Eden. It was the only place, except Lucknow, that came up to her expectations. "For miles round it," she says, "there is nothing to be seen but gigantic ruins of mosques and palaces, and the actual living city has the finest mosque we have seen yet. It is in such perfect preservation, built entirely of red stone and white marble, with immense flights of marble steps leading up to three sides of it; these were entirely covered with people dressed in very bright colours—all assembled to see the Governor-General's *suwarí*, and I do not think I ever saw so striking a scene." All but Lord Auckland, went to see the palace. There must have been some failure in the negotiations with the faded royalty of Delhi, which were more favourable when Lord Amherst visited the Emperor. "The lattices of the marble hall," is the sad entry in Miss Eden's journal, "look out on a garden, and the old king was sitting in it with a *chowry badar* waving the flies from him; but the garden is all gone to decay too, and the 'Light of the World' had a forlorn and darkened look."

At length the stately progress of the Governor-General came to an end. On March 30, he held a durbar at which he presented shawls and matchlocks to the subadars of the regiments that had acted as his escort and which delighted all the Hindus and Muhammadans who accompanied the camp. The idea was Miss Eden's and her reward was being told that "our lordship was the first that had ever been so good to natives." They arrived at Simla on April 3. All were charmed by the beauty of the place. Miss Eden is, as usual, amusing over the change which she thoroughly enjoyed. "No wonder I could not live down below!" She laughingly writes, "We never were allowed a scrap of air to breathe—now I come back to the air again, I remember all about it. It is a cool sort of stuff, refreshing, sweet, and apparently pleasant to the lungs. We have fires in every room, and the windows open; red rhododendron trees in bloom in every direction,

and beautiful walks cut on all sides of the hills. Good! I see this is to be the best part of India." The novelty of the march and the change to the pure climate of the Hills were most beneficial to the whole party, especially to Lord Auckland. During the former his sister wrote:—"George detests his tent and his march and the whole business so actively, that he will not perceive how well he is." On leaving Simla she wrote, as she looked back to the happy time spent there:—"We have had seven very quiet months, with good health and in a good climate, and in beautiful scenery."

During these seven very quiet months, however, the whole political aspect of India had changed, and to the events which led up to this we must now direct our attention. When Lord Auckland left Calcutta, he was separated from his Council, and this fact induced the English public in India to assume that he fell so completely into the power of the very distinguished civilians who accompanied him that they persuaded him to adopt the policy that led to the first Afghan war. Before considering the true facts of the case, therefore, the evidence regarding which we have been carefully weighing again so that we may relate them briefly with the most perfect impartiality, we must say a few words regarding those gentlemen who bore the greatest part in subsequent events. The first was the Chief Secretary to Government, Mr. afterwards Sir, William Hay Macnaghten. This eminent public servant had been an officer in the Madras Cavalry before he joined the Bengal Civil Service. He was an extremely accomplished man, and an experienced linguist. When quite a young man Lord Hastings said of him that there was not a language taught in college in which he had not obtained the highest distinction. "He is clever and pleasant," to use Miss Eden's amusing language, "speaks Persian rather more fluently than English; Arabic better than Persian; but, for familiar conversation, rather prefers Sanskrit." He was an excellent man of business, and was thoroughly acquainted with Hindu and Muhammadan customs and modes of thought. His assistant was Mr. Henry Torrens,

a very brilliant and versatile man. He acted and sang well, besides being thoroughly versed in Persian and Urdu. The one, however, with whom the Governor-General was most frequently brought into contact was his Private Secretary, Mr. John Russell Colvin. This gentleman was a distinguished member of the Civil Service, in which he held many important posts, and ultimately became Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. He was one of the few friends in Calcutta towards whom Lord Macaulay was peculiarly drawn. Lord Auckland, who had made inquiry on the subject even before leaving England, was pleased to offer him the responsible appointment of Private Secretary, and, for six years, he retained this very difficult post. Calm, judicious, reticent, and yet withal courteous and genial, he seems to have been exactly suited to it. Popular rumour attributed the coming Afghan war to the influence exercised over the wavering character of Lord Auckland by the three able men whom we have just mentioned. It is not, however, an every-day occurrence for both father and son to hold, after an interval, the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the same Province; and it is not often that a son is in the position to defend his father's memory from aspersions cast upon his official conduct. Sir Auckland Colvin has recently published a little volume in which he has, we believe successfully, endeavoured to perform this filial duty. We have carefully sifted the evidence regarding these events, which Sir John Kaye gave in his *History of the War in Afghanistan*, and find that it was confessedly due, to a very great extent, to unsupported rumour and conjecture. The war may have been unjust and ill-advised; but Lord Auckland simply carried out the instructions which he had received from the authorities in England, and was not merely acting as a puppet in the hands of his immediate advisers.

When the Governor-General arrived at Calcutta, he found India in a state of profound repose; but he had not been long in office before he found that there was much apprehension regarding affairs in Persia and Afghanistan beyond the north-west borders of this country. The subject

had to be viewed from two points of view, the European and the Indian. In England there had at that time grown up an exaggerated fear of Russian encroachments. This was very much due to the writings and actions of a young Bombay officer, Lieutenant, afterwards Sir, Alexander Burnes. He had travelled through Afghanistan and the surrounding countries, and had become very popular during his furlough in England. Russia had recently been interfering in the affairs of Persia, where she had gained a secure footing, which was considered adverse to British interests. On June 25, 1836, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors sent a despatch to the Governor-General, which he received before the close of that year, and in which occur the following sentences:—"The mode of dealing with this very important question," that is, the mode of counteracting the progress of Russian influence, "whether by despatching a confidential agent to Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, merely to watch the progress of events, or to enter into relations with this chief, either of a political or merely, in the first instance, of a commercial character, we confide to your discretion, as well as the adoption of any other measures that may appear to you desirable in order to counteract Russian influence in that quarter, should you be satisfied that the time has arrived at which it would be right for you to interfere decidedly in the affairs of Afghanistan. Such an interference might doubtless be requisite, either to prevent the extension of Persian dominion in that quarter, or to raise a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence." The Governor-General was requested to give to this matter his immediate and most earnest attention. Acting on these directions, he gave this view of affairs his most careful *consideration*. He had already ordered Captain Burnes to go to Kabal, through Scinde and the Punjab, and to treat with Dost Muhammad Khan about commercial matters; but the Amir was too shrewd a man not to see that more than commerce was intended, and the veil was very soon dropped. The real object of the mission was political. There is an interesting account

of Captain Burnes' proceedings at Kabul in the narrative of his journeys published more than fifty years ago by Mr. Masson, who was at that time in that city. We see no reason to doubt the general accuracy of his statements about what he saw and heard there, and if only half of what he wrote can be believed, Captain Burnes was a most unsuitable representative of the honour and dignity of England.

We have now to look at affairs from the Indian point of view. The safety of India from invasion from the north-west and the security of its north-west frontier were the chief objects to be considered, no matter by whom they might be menaced. The Shah of Persia had attacked Herat, which was then called the "gate" or the "key" of India. There was beginning to be a panic, which afterwards came to a head, throughout the whole of India. It was necessary that there should be friendly relations between Ranjít Sing, the Maharaja of the Punjab, the Amir of Afghanistan, and the British Government. The difficulty was to adjust the relations between the two former. The Maharaja had recently taken Peshawar, and Dost Muhammad Khan demanded the good offices of the British Government to induce Ranjit Sing to give it back as the price of his alliance. Captain Burnes promised that it should be returned, thus exceeding his instructions, for which he was rebuked by the Governor-General. A Russian officer had made his appearance at Kabul during Captain Burnes' stay there, but was received with studied coldness and neglect. When the latter's mission failed, however, for the Governor-General could not alienate the friendship of Ranjit Sing by insisting on the surrender of Peshawar, the Russian officer was ostentatiously received into favour. He was profuse in his promises of aid from Russia; but it is scarcely fair to assume that his credentials were genuine, when his own Government denied him their support. The refusal of Dost Muhammad Khan to enter into full alliance with the British Government led to war. Before leaving this brief sketch of the negotiations with him, it is only just to the memory of Sir Alexander Burnes

to say that he was consistent in the high opinion he entertained of Dost Muhammad, whom he considered an able and a strong ruler, and deservedly popular among the Afghans, especially among the leading tribes.

The Governor-General was much distressed at the negotiations with Dost Muhammad Khan having failed. He was anxious to have a friendly state in the Punjab and to have equally friendly relations with the Amirs of Scinde on the banks of the Indus; and, at the same time, to feel that there was an ally in the highlands of Afghanistan; thus raising a triple barrier or rampart between British India and any hostile designs that might be formed by Persia at the suggestion of Russia. Dost Muhammad having declined to enter into any alliance with the Indian Government unless at the price of Peshawar, which would have offended and alienated Ranjít Sing, it was necessary to carry out the policy of the authorities in England in another manner. On May 12, 1838, the Governor-General wrote a long Minute, in which he discussed the several courses open to him to adopt. The first course was what we who, after more than fifty years, imagine would have been the best policy, that is, to leave Afghanistan alone, and to confine defensive measures to the line of the Indus; but this he believed would mean absolute humiliation and would leave a free opening to Russian and Persian intrigue on the frontier of India. The Shah of Persia was at that time besieging Herat, which was an Afghan city. Russian officers were in the Persian commander's camp, and the city was being stoutly defended by the Afghans, encouraged by a young English officer, whose name was Eldred Pottinger. The course which most recommended itself to Lord Auckland was to encourage the advance of Ranjít Sing's army on Kabul, and to prepare an expedition for invading Afghanistan under Shah Shuja-ul-mulk. Shah Shuja was the late Amir of Afghanistan, who had been defeated and driven out of the country by Dost Muhammad Khan, and had since lived as a pensioner at Ludiana. Shah Shuja was as incapable a ruler as his rival was the reverse; but the English officers in the Punjab believed in

his ability, and all who had lately been concerned in the affairs of Kabul stated that he was beloved by the people and would be warmly welcomed back. Dost Muhammad Khan and he belonged to different Afghan tribes. Meanwhile, before finally deciding on his course of action, Lord Auckland sent Mr. Macnaghten to carry on negotiations with Ranjít Sing. It was with a keen pang of regret that he entertained the idea of war. "All I am doing," he wrote on July 12, 1838, to Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, "is well justified by the avowed policy of the Persian Court and by the hostile proceedings of the Russian agents; and you may assume it for next to certain that I shall go onwards, with many a deep feeling of regret that I am not allowed to prosecute measures of peace and of peaceful improvement, but with a perfect conviction that it is only by a bold front and by strong exertion that the aggressions and the dangers with which we are threatened can be warded off."

After the return of Mr. Macnaghten to Simla, the Governor-General considered it was his duty to enter into alliance with Ranjít Sing and Shah Shuja for the purpose of restoring the latter to his throne. This alliance was embodied in what is known as the Tripartite Treaty. It was followed up by preparations for sending an expedition into Afghanistan to support the pretensions of Shah Shuja. On August 14 a long despatch was sent to the Court of Directors in which Lord Auckland justified the decision at which he had arrived in carrying out the policy they had indicated. He added, "I have felt, after the most anxious deliberation, that I could not otherwise rightly acquit myself of my trust; and a reference to the despatches of your Honourable Committee of June 25, 1836, and May 10, 1838, have led me to look with confidence for your general approbation and support to the plans on which, in the exercise of the discretion confided to me, I have resolved."

The celebrated Manifesto which contained the declaration of war against Dost Muhammad Khan was issued at Simla on October 1, 1838. This document was most keenly criticized directly it appeared. It is, however, only right

to say that it received the approval of the President of the Board of Control and of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, who were the persons responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England. Sir John Kaye distinctly stated in his History, and Sir Auckland Colvin denies, that this Manifesto was so much disapproved by the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta, from whom he was of necessity separated, that the members of Council sent to England a respectful remonstrance. As this document is stated to have been issued "with the concurrence of the Supreme Council," this accusation directly attacked the honour of Lord Auckland, and therefore it merits consideration in any account of his life. Kaye does not quote his authority for his statement, and the remonstrance said to have been sent has never been produced or quoted. On the contrary, in a reply to the letter forwarding this Manifesto, it is clearly stated by the Court of Directors that "we are much pleased to find that the Governor-General and the Supreme Council cordially agree in all the measures in contemplation for the protection of the North-West frontier." Whatever may be the merits or demerits of this document, it is not proved that it was repudiated by the Supreme Council of India.

After the publication of this declaration the North-West frontier of India was alive with preparation. In the early days of November Lord Auckland and his party left Simla, and marched towards the Punjab. They left the Himalayas with regret. "We have had seven very quiet months," Miss Eden wrote rather sadly, "with good health and in a good climate, and in beautiful scenery. If I am to be in India, I would rather be at Simla than anywhere." At Ferozepore there was a grand ceremonial meeting between Lord Auckland and the aged Maharaja of the Punjab. Miss Eden's description of this interview is so graphic that we cannot help giving a portion of it here. "When Ranjít Sing was at the end of the street," she wrote, "George and all the gentlemen went on their elephants to meet him. There were such a number of elephants that the clash at meeting was very great and very destructive to the how-

dahs and hangings. George handed the Maharaja into the first large tent, where we were all waiting; but the Sikhs were very unmanageable, and they rushed in on all sides, and the European officers were rather worse, so that the tent was full in a moment, and as the light only comes in from the bottom, the crowd made it perfectly dark, and the old man seemed confused. However, he sat down for a few minutes on the sofa between George and me, and recovered. He is exactly like an old mouse, with grey whiskers and one eye. Ranjít had no jewels on whatever, nothing but the commonest red silk dress." Miss Eden, who painted very well, had drawn a picture of Her Majesty the Queen, who had then been scarcely a year and a half on the throne, for presentation to the Maharaja. It was brought into the tent in state on a green and gold cushion. "All the English got up, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Ranjít took it up in his hands, and examined it for at least five minutes with his one eye. He said it was the most gratifying present he could have received, and that on his return to his camp, the picture would be hung in front of his tent, and a royal salute fired."

A few days afterwards, on December 3, there was a grand review of the English army, at which Ranjít Sing was present. Miss Eden was of opinion that he looked much more "personable on horseback than in durbar" She was particularly struck by the grandeur of the Sikh sirdars, dressed in yellow or red satin, with quantities of led horses sparkling in their gold and silver trappings. "The old man, himself" she wrote, "wears a sort of red stuff dress with a little edging of the commonest grey squirrel's fur, and a common red muslin turban." Her final opinion of him was:—"He is a very drunken old profligate, neither more nor less. Still he has made himself a great king; he has conquered a great many enemies; he is remarkably just in his government; he has disciplined a large army; he hardly ever takes away life, which is wonderful in a despot, and he is excessively beloved by his people." Subsequently the Governor-General and his party visited Amritsar and Lahore; and, after a surfeit of fêtes, returned to British

territory, and then retraced their steps to Simla, where they arrived about the middle of March, 1839. While there, they heard of the death of the great Maharaja, which took place on June 27.

Meanwhile, the contemplated invasion of Afghanistan had taken place. The main body of the English army, with Shah Shuja-ul-mulk, whom it was the object of the expedition to restore to his throne, reached Kandahar on April 25, 1839. Mr. Macnaghten, who had been appointed British Envoy, to his court, accompanied the force, and a grand entry was made into the city. The envoy was so fully persuaded that the Afghan people were generally favourable to their exiled king, that he sent the Governor-General a glowing account of the manner in which he was welcomed to Kandahar. The reflection of this appears in Miss Eden's journal. "George has received," she writes, "the official accounts of the taking of Kandahar, or rather how Kandahar took Shah Shuja, and *would have* him for its king." Mr. Macnaghten himself wrote to her:—"Every great chief with his followers came out to meet the Shah, and greeted him on his arrival in his own country with every demonstration of joy; the poor crowded about him, making offerings of flowers, and they strewed the road he was to pass with roses." No wonder that the Governor-General and his sisters thought that nothing could be more satisfactory. But future events proved that all this was a mere delusion, and that Shah Shuja was not really welcomed back to his country with joy. Mr. Macnaghten's sanguine wishes misled him. On June 27, the day that Ranjít Sing was dying at Lahore, the greater part of Sir John Keane's force marched from Kandahar towards Kabul. On July 23, the strong fortress of Ghazni was taken by assault after one of the gates had been blown open by gun powder. On August 7, Shah Shuja was conducted in triumph through the streets of Kabul; but no joyous greeting hailed his return. His great rival, Dost Muhammad Khan, had fled across the mountain range that guarded Kabul to the west. These events are noticed from time to time in Miss Eden's journal. Amidst

little gossip regarding the doings at Simla passages such as these occur:—"George has had letters from the army. The Shah seems to be as quietly and comfortably settled as if he had never left his kingdom, and Sir John Keane writes most cheerfully about the army, makes very light of the loss of cattle, and says the soldiers were never so healthy."

The object of the campaign had now been attained. Shah Shuja had been restored to his native country and to his ancestral throne. If he had really been popular and if he had possessed the capacity to govern, the British forces ought, according to the proclamation of the previous October, to have been withdrawn; but he was neither popular nor capable. Lord Auckland, therefore, came to the decision that he must still be supported by British arms. In a minute dated August 20, 1839, he recorded this decision. He was quite sensible of the great advantage of withdrawing the army of the Indus to British territory; but "the political benefit would," he wrote, "be ill attained at the price of leaving unaccomplished the great purposes with which the expedition to Kabul was undertaken." Orders were consequently given that strong garrisons should be left at Kabul and Kandahar, at Ghazni and Jelalabad, while the main portions of the army should withdraw, one column under General Willshire through Scinde, and another under Sir John Keane through the Khyber Pass and the Punjab. The news of the success of the campaign was received in England with enthusiasm. The queen was pleased to create Lord Auckland an Earl, Sir John Keane a Baron, and Mr. Macnaghten a baronet, so that, in future, the two latter will be called Lord Keane and Sir William Macnaghten. The troops remaining in Afghanistan were, from time to time, engaged in various expeditions against refractory chiefs; but, on the whole, there was comparative tranquillity around Kabul for the next two years or more, and the British authorities, especially Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes, were lulled into fatal security. There were signs, however, of a rising storm,

which might have been observed on the spot, if their eyes had not been blinded. The chief event during this period was the surrender of the Sirdar Dost Muhammad Khan. He had returned into Afghanistan from his place of refuge, and had placed himself at the head of his followers, against whom a force under General Sale had been sent. He was defeated on November 2, 1840, at a place called Parwandarra, where, however, two squadrons of the Bengal Cavalry had refused to charge against the foe. Two days afterwards, as Sir William Macnaghten was returning from his evening ride accompanied only by Lieutenant, afterwards Sir George, Lawrence, a horseman rode up to him and announced that the Amir was at hand. "What Amir?" exclaimed the Envoy. "Dost Muhammad Khan," was the reply; and, in a few minutes, the Amir himself drew near, dismounted from his horse, and presented his sword to Sir William Macnaghten. In a few days the Amir, who behaved in his voluntary captivity with charming courtesy and politeness, was taken under escort to Calcutta, where he had several interviews with the Governor-General. His first interview with him is thus described by Miss Eden:—"George did not like to receive him in durbar, as everything that is done will be exaggerated in Kabul. So it was settled he was to drive to Government House on his way to the house he is to live in, and to pay a common morning visit. So we arranged our morning drawing room in the native style— a sofa at one end and a long lane of chairs and sofas leading up to it, with two rows of servants with silver sticks behind the chairs. George sat on his sofa, with the Secretaries and Aides-de-camp on the rows of chairs." Dost Muhammad received every attention at the hands of the Governor-General, and he was gratified by being taken for drives in Lord Auckland's carriage, and by Miss Eden's playing with him at chess. Every consideration was shown to a fallen but noble foe.

By bringing the history of Afghan affairs down to the end of 1841, we have slightly anticipated the course of events. It was at one time intended that Lord Auckland should remain at Agra for some time, and continue in

charge of the Government of the North-West Provinces; but the occurrence of war with China, and the threatening aspect of affairs in Nepaul led him to abandon this plan, and to return sooner than he intended to Calcutta. He left his sisters with their attendants at Kalpi, and journeyed to Calcutta by dawk as quickly as possible, leaving them to follow at a more leisurely pace. He reached the capital in the early days of February 1840. The Misses Eden rejoined him in the following month, and the usual round of business and pleasure, gaiety and work, incident to viceregal life, was resumed. Soon after their return to Calcutta, Lord Auckland received a pressing invitation from the Court of Directors to remain at his post another year, that is, to continue as Governor-General until March 1842, as he would have been five years in India in March 1841. This was a mark of the confidence and esteem in which he was held by those in authority in England. Miss Eden, who was longing to see again her relatives in her native land, writes about this change of plans in an amusing manner, but concludes with this sensible sentiment: "I suppose if it is really necessary that George should stay, it will be equally necessary to make the best of it." A year later, just before Lord Auckland and his sisters left India, Miss Frances Eden wrote: "We have stayed in this country a year longer than we meant —a year too long, in fact." This was true. If he had retired at the end of his natural term of office, and he had not been urged to remain, he would have left Afghanistan apparently in a state of profound tranquillity, and India quiet and happy. As it was, a dark impenetrable cloud hung over the land at the time of his departure, and he quitted in the midst of despondency and gloom.

Up to the middle of November, 1841, nothing but favourable reports reached Government House from Afghanistan. The very last letter from Sir William Macnaghten gave the most satisfactory account of affairs there. He stated how prosperous the country was becoming, and how the Afghans were beginning to appreciate our calm, equitable laws after their own harsh rule. Sir

Alexander Burnes held the same opinions, and sent a similar report. After the receipt of these roseate statements, the news of revolt, insurrection, disaster, and shame came to Lord Auckland with the swiftness and suddenness of an earthquake. Sir William Macnaghten had been appointed Governor of Bombay, and was about to start in a few days to take up his new appointment; and Sir Alexander Burnes was to take up his duties as Envoy. In the middle of October there had been a rising of the eastern Ghilzai tribes, but it was hoped that they would soon be subdued. Early in the morning of November 2, 1841, a tumult broke out in the city of Kabul. The houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnson, the Shah's paymaster, were attacked. Burnes, his brother, and other officers were murdered in a sudden gust of popular fury. It was at first a sharp, but comparatively slight, tumult, which might have been put down at once, if it had been met by ordinary firmness and promptitude. Scarcely anything was done, however, and the insurrection speedily grew into a national uprising, which spread over the whole country. Shah Shuja-ul-mulk was with his troops and the English officers attending on him in the Bala Hissar, a fortified palace, near the town. The English Army consisting of some 4500 men, of whom about 700 were Europeans, were in cantonments two miles off. Nothing could have been worse from a strategical point of view than the situation. But what was worse, there were divided counsels, and not a single officer of rank who knew how to command. General Elphinstone, who commanded, was a brave and distinguished soldier; but enfeebled by disease and totally unfitted to lead in a time of emergency. The force was ere long besieged in its cantonments, and all supplies were kept from them. The Afghan insurgents were at first a mere rabble, but they were soon commanded by a competent leader in the person of Muhammad Akbar Khan, Dost Muhammad's favourite son. He entered into communication with Sir William Macnaghten, and the Envoy hoped, at one time, that by his being made Shah Shuja's minister, tranquillity might be restored. The astute Afghan was,

however, merely deluding him. He invited the Envoy to a conference, and, on December 23, this was held on a little mound only 300 yards from the camp. It is generally believed that Akbar Khan intended merely to capture Sir William and his attendant officers; but finding that he struggled to escape, slew him in a sudden burst of passion with a pistol which he had received as a present from the Envoy only a few hours previously. The Envoy's three attendant officers were disarmed, and each carried away on horseback, by an Afghan chief and saved from the fanatic rabble that swarmed around them. One, however, Captain Trevor, fell from his captor's horse, and was immediately slain.

Not a finger was raised to rescue them or to avenge the insult, though the tumult was actually seen from the walls of the cantonment. Major Eldred Pottinger was appointed to continue the negotiations carried on by the Envoy, and ere long arrangements were entered into with Muhammad Akbar Khan that the garrison, which was now reduced to extremities by starvation, should evacuate the cantonment, and that he should guarantee their safe conduct to Jelalabad, he engaging, on his part, to keep back the Ghilzai tribe from attacking them. Major Pottinger and others urged the bolder course of seizing the Bala Hissar citadel and gallantly holding it until assistance could be received from India. They were, however, overruled. The fatal retreat began on January 6, 1842, and the few fighting men that remained, discouraged and dispirited, and clogged by the numerous camp-followers, were unable to hold their own. They were attacked and shot down by the hardy mountaineers, and were massacred at every place where they attempted to make a stand. The climate likewise was against them. The frost and snow were terribly severe, and many perished by frost-bites. Only one man reached Jelalabad to tell the awful tale. Meanwhile, the ladies and children, with the married officers and certain hostages, including General Elphinstone and Colonel Shelton, the second in command, were taken charge of by Muhammad Akbar Khan, who, whatever may be thought of his former conduct, nobly ful-

filled his agreement in this respect. As might have been expected, they were rather roughly housed, and moved about from place to place; but their lives were preserved, and, in an Oriental fashion, they were treated well.

The whole story, however, was not one of humiliation and disgrace. General Sale's brigade, which was on its return to India, stood fast at Jelalabad, and kept the town against all odds. The garrison, thoroughly repaired the defences of the town, defeated the enemy in several sallies, repaired the walls which were nearly levelled to the ground in the terrible earthquake of February 19, and showed such a bold front as kept the enemy in awe, and clearly proved what British soldiers and sepoys could do when bravely and intelligently led.

We return to Government House, Calcutta, on which the shadow of this great disaster had darkly fallen. At first there were mere vague rumours, that some evil had come upon the force at Kabul. The passes between Afghanistan and India were closed, and but little certain information could be obtained. Then, bit by bit, the sad tidings came with mournful regularity. The first news came in a letter from Lady Sale in Kabul to her husband in Jelalabad. Miss Eden, though very apprehensive, could not look on matters despairingly. "You may imagine," she added, "the state George is in, and indeed there is a general gloom in Calcutta." The murder of Sir Alexander Burnes particularly affected him. The news from Jelalabad was assuring; but there was much cause for apprehension about Kabul. In the midst of it all, the Governor-General's family were preparing for their departure. "Our chief amusement has been packing." Then came intelligence that General Nott was preparing to march from Kandahar to Kabul, "and that has added to George's alarms." Then, two days afterwards a line was received from Captain Macgregor, the political officer at Jelalabad, "which even George owns to be the most cheering line he has had, and he looks better in consequence." In the midst of these alternations of hope and foreboding, a very interesting letter was received from brave Lady Sale on January 6, 1842, the day on which

the retreat was beginning at Kabul. "Nothing," says Miss Eden, "can seem more hopeless. Only three days' provisions left, and then she says very calmly, she believes they are to eat the few ponies and the camels left alive. The enemy had proposed a capitulation—the married men and the women to be left as hostages, the Shah to be given up, and the soldiers to give up their arms and to be escorted to the frontier, which is, in other words, to come out to be massacred." Writing a few days later, Miss Frances Eden says she cannot understand why, with 5000 troops, no effort had been made. All they could hear was that the camp was surrounded and provisions were failing fast. "As you may conceive, George is very much harassed by anxiety for the fate of all there. It is very hard for him," she writes with most natural sympathy, "that during the very last weeks of his stay here, when there is no time for him to get things straight again, this misfortune should have happened from the too great security of those on the spot. A fearful misfortune it is likely to prove. Knowing what a savage people the Afghans are, I never can get the horrors that may happen out of my head."

Then the sad details of the retreat came in by degrees. No wonder Miss Eden writes, "George is looking shockingly, but not ill. All this worry has, however, made a difference of ten years at least in his look." There was much vacillation in the plans to be adopted in this emergency. It was partly caused by the fact that his successor was now drawing very near the shores of India, and he might be inclined to adopt a different policy to his own. At first his desire was all for a forward movement, for the purpose of re-inforcing the hardly pressed force at Kabul; but, as the news from Afghanistan grew darker and darker, his judgment became adverse to an advance into that country for this purpose. One of his latest orders was, however, for the assembling of a strong force at Peshawar, to the command of which General George Pollock was appointed, and this policy was ably carried out by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and by Mr. George Clerk, the British Agent in the Punjab. Both

at Kandahar and at Peshawar preparations were being quietly made for an early advance into the interior of Afghanistan; but the latter days of Lord Auckland's rule were past in sorrow and in gloom. The only bright spot was the heroic defence of Jellalabad, a brief account of which will come more appropriately in the sketch of his successor's life. That successor was Lord Ellenborough, who, rather to the surprise of the English public in India, had been appointed by the new ministry in England. He reached Calcutta on February 28, and was cordially welcomed by the outgoing Governor-General, who, with his sisters, remained his guest for twelve days. The two statesmen took to each other; or as Miss Eden wrote, they became exceedingly fond of each other. Lord Ellenborough, however, surprised his guests by his boasting and his grand ideas. "He startles people," Miss Eden said, "by the extraordinary activity of his English notions. The climate," she added sagaciously, "will settle a great many of them, and in the meantime he really is so good-natured and hospitable we are quite touched by it." She was still more touched by the public demonstrations of sorrow at her brother's departure and by the real affection shown at parting with them. The chief feeling in all hearts was compassion for him in the terrible trial that had clouded his last days in India. This *dark cloud* hung over all the proceedings connected with the farewell. This is plainly seen even at the close of Miss Eden's usually cheerful and lively letters, and almost the concluding words of her sister's *last* published letter were: "At this moment the whole court of Government House is filled with the carriages of people coming up with the address. It is a comfort to know that the ladies are well treated by the Afghans, and every thing is going on well in other parts of Afghanistan." We cannot refrain from giving the following extract from the address to which allusion was made above, and which was presented to Lord Auckland by the good and venerable Bishop Wilson: "You have shown to the people of this country," the words ran, "the example of a public man in the most exalted station devoting all his

time and all his energy to the duties of his office. You have diligently sought out merit amongst all classes, and have stimulated the honourable ambition of the native youth by encouragement and rewards, which are producing the happiest effects. If strict impartiality in a country where the differences of creed and race multiply the difficulty and the value of that rare virtue, if six years of incessant exertion for every object which you have conceived to be conducive to the happiness and the improvement of the people of British India, form a just title to their gratitude, that title is yours." Though these sentiments were expressed in a rather rhetorical fashion, we have every reason to believe that they were genuine, and that sincere regret was felt at Lord Auckland's departure.

At half-past six on the morning of March 12, 1842, a similar party issued from Government House to that which had accompanied Lord Auckland and his sisters on the memorable morning when they started on their journey up-country four years and a half before. The chief officers of state were with them, and for the last time Lord Auckland returned their salute as the double line of soldiery presented arms. A small steamer was to convey him to the ship *Lord Hungerford*, in which he was going to England; and, as he was being rowed to it, he could not restrain the tears that started to his eyes. "As the boat shoved off," a spectator wrote in one of the Calcutta papers, "the visible moisture in his eyes, and his turning away and applying the handkerchief to them, too clearly indicated the pain of parting to which his Lordship was alive. There was a great concourse on the Strand to witness this grand and affecting sight." We add the remarks of Sir Auckland Colvin regarding the departing Governor-General: "The patience and dignity with which he had borne his misfortunes, his gentle temper, his kindly nature, his large hospitality and unassuming carriage had won him the hearts of all who met him. If he had failed, he had greatly ventured; and to those who greatly venture in the cause of Great Britain, their countrymen in India forgive much." Sir Auckland's father, who, during the whole six trying years of his

administration, had acted as his Private Secretary, accompanied Lord Auckland to England, where they arrived in the month of August of the same year.

Lord Auckland spent the first three years after his return to his native land in comparative retirement. He lived partly at Eden Farm and partly in London. In 1846, however, when Lord John Russell came into power as Prime Minister at the head of a Whig Government, he joined the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty, an appointment which he had held previous to his going to India. He applied himself to his duties as minister with diligence and assiduity, and he was rewarded by his contemporaries' approval and by a considerable amount of success, though he was not very long in office. Near the end of the year 1848 he paid a visit to one of his friends named Lord Ashburton, at the Grange, an estate belonging to the latter in the county of Hampshire. On the afternoon of December 30, as he was returning from a shooting party, about four miles from the house, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, from which he did not recover. He died on New Year's Day, 1849. He was buried in Beckenham Church, near his own place of residence. One of his sisters who was with him in India died only four months after him; but the elder sister, whose letters we have freely quoted, survived him for many years. The following is the epitaph placed on his tomb: "His manly character, his able and honest administration of affairs, his true uprightness, and his steady kindness won for him in an eminent degree the respect of all men, and the love of those who knew him best."

But little more need be said regarding the character of Lord Auckland. What we have stated during the course of the foregoing narrative seems almost sufficient. It is very easy, according to a common English saying, to be wise after the event, and it is very difficult to place oneself completely in the position of those who were in authority at the time of certain events. Looking back, however, after the lapse of so many years, and therefore in the light of subsequent events, and writing while the second son of

the Amir of Afghanistan is in England, which fact is in itself a visible token that the alliance between the two countries is at the present time firmly cemented, we cannot help expressing keen regret at much of the past policy of the Government of India with reference to Afghanistan. We feel persuaded that the first Afghan War was unjust, and this is now, we believe, the general opinion of Indian writers and statesmen. It seems also very clear to us that the disapproval of God rested on the plans and on the conduct of the chief actors in the events we have been considering, showing plainly the truth of the scriptural assertion—"The Lord God of recompenses shall surely requite." Lord Auckland was not solely to blame. There can be little doubt on the reader's mind, when his despatches are studied, that he believed he was justified in declaring war for the purpose of securing the safety of India, and that he undertook it most reluctantly; but the full weight of responsibility rested entirely on the authorities in England. A crisis such as that which arose on the occasion of the Russian scare in England required a very strong ruler at the head of affairs in India, and Lord Auckland's was by no means a strong character. He was most admirable in the ordinary routine of business in times of quiet and of peace; but he was unsuited for the stress and strain of war, and formed a striking contrast to the firm but eccentric genius by whom he was succeeded. He was one of the most amiable of men, and inspired affection and esteem in all with whom he came closely into contact. India, however, requires more than this in times of emergency and danger.

THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH.

THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH.

From A. D. 1790 to 1871.

"Judge not! The workings of his brain,
And of his heart thou canst not see;
What looks to thy dim eyes a stain,
In Heaven's pure light may only be
A scar, brought from some well-won field,
Where thou wouldst only faint and yield."

A. A. Procter.

A few months ago we entered the pretty little church in the quiet village of North Cray in the county of Kent. As we stepped into the building, our eye was attracted by the name of the Earl of Ellenborough, on a tablet in the right-hand corner near the entrance. On reading the inscription, our heart was touched by the simple words in which he had recorded the deep sorrow he felt on the occasion of the early death of his first wife, and this was increased when we recalled to memory the subsequent events of his life. The inscription was as follows:—"To the most dear memory of Octavia, Lady Ellenborough, ... this monument is erected by her husband who, grateful to God for having given him so perfect a wife, and resigned to His awful will, which has so soon and so suddenly taken her away, earnestly and devoutly prays for grace to lead a good life that he may meet her again in Heaven."

The Honourable Edward Law was the eldest son of a celebrated English Judge, who, on his being appointed Lord Chief Justice of England, was created a peer with the title of Baron Ellenborough. He was born September 8, 1790. He was educated at Eton and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1809. One of his tutors at Cambridge was Mr. Sumner, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, the highest position, with the exception of that of the Sovereign, in the national Church of England. After leaving College

Mr. Law made a tour in the island of Sicily. His great desire was to join the army, and to make military science his profession; but this being contrary to his father's wishes, he became engaged in political life, though he always took a peculiar interest in military affairs. In the year 1813 he entered the House of Commons as Member of Parliament for the picturesque little town of St. Michael's, in the south of the county of Cornwall. He then applied himself diligently to the study of oratory, and he frequently spoke in the House of Commons, especially on Indian subjects. His speeches were eloquent, strong, and energetic; but his character was known to be so eccentric that they did not carry so much weight as they might have done either in the Lower House or afterwards in the House of Lords. His father died on December 13, 1818, when he succeeded to the title of Lord Ellenborough.

When the late Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister of England in 1828, Lord Ellenborough joined his Ministry as Lord Privy Seal, this being one of the high offices of the State. He was desirous of being the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which was a more important and responsible office; but he was disappointed in not obtaining this object of his ambition. On September 5, 1828, however, he became President of the Board of Control, a position which, during the course of his life, he held four times. He was thus brought into contact with the Court of Directors, and obtained an extensive knowledge of Indian affairs. During his first tenure of this office, the time for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was drawing near, and he had a great deal to say regarding the changes made in 1833 in the authority and power of the Company. He was much opposed to the continuance of the Company's trade with China, the monopoly of which was withdrawn on the renewal of the Charter. At this time he was a strong advocate for opening the river Indus for trade, and it was mainly through his influence that Captain Burnes was sent on the commercial embassy to Kabul which we have already mentioned, so that, whatever may have been his subse-

quent views, he was one of the early instigators of events which led to the first Afghan War.

Lord Ellenborough resigned his office on the fall of the ministry in 1830; but again entered Sir Robert Peel's ministry as President of the Board of Control during that eminent statesman's brief administration from December 1834 to April 1835. He again relinquished office, when Sir Robert Peel went out of power; but returned to it for the third time in September 1841, when Sir Robert Peel was once more called upon to hold the position of Prime Minister. As Lord Auckland's time for the resignation of the Governor-Generalship of India was approaching, it was necessary that a successor should soon be nominated, and the appointment was offered to Lord Ellenborough.

In our Memoirs of each of the previous Governor-Generals we have been materially assisted in understanding the character of the man and his views as Governor-General either from his own diary and letters or from the journals and correspondence of those who were intimately connected with him. In this instance, however, we have the great advantage of the perusal of letters addressed by Lord Ellenborough to Her Majesty the Queen, whom he kept acquainted by each overland mail, which was then beginning to be sent regularly once a month, with every military and political event, and to whom he stated his views on every important subject. These letters must have been written with more than ordinary care, and we may assume that they give the writer's opinions with greater accuracy than those written to others, on account of the pains taken over them, as well as on account of the exalted position of her to whom they were addressed. Lord Ellenborough had been in the habit of writing to Her Majesty on Indian matters while he was President of the Board of Control, and he kept it up after his arrival in India, evidently by Her Majesty's command, for it is well known how intimately she is acquainted with all the affairs of state as well as with everything that concerns the welfare and the happiness of her subjects. We give for our reader's satisfaction the whole of the short letter in which he announced his

appointment to the Queen, as a specimen of the style adopted throughout this correspondence.

October 20, 1841.

"Lord Ellenborough, with his most humble duty to your Majesty, humbly acquaints your Majesty that the Court of Directors of the East India Company have, by a resolution passed this day, appointed him Governor-General of India. This appointment is invalid unless your Majesty should think fit to signify your Majesty's approval of it. In this, as in all things, Lord Ellenborough submits himself to your Majesty's gracious pleasure, prepared to serve your Majesty with devoted zeal wherever your Majesty may in your wisdom think his services can be most useful to your Majesty." The next published letter is dated five months later, after Lord Ellenborough's arrival at Calcutta. He also corresponded frequently with that great military authority, the Duke of Wellington, whose counsel he highly valued, and to whom he freely communicated all his plans and arrangements both military and political.

Lord Ellenborough's appointment was generally hailed with satisfaction His duties at the office of the Board of Control had given him an extensive knowledge of Indian affairs and much experience regarding them. He was looked upon as a man of considerable intelligence and power, and it was hoped that he would make an excellent ruler. The terrible events which saddened the close of his predecessor's career had not yet occurred, and it was anticipated that the new Governor-General would have before him a period of quiet and of peace, during which much could be done for the good of the country and the benefit of the people. These visions filled the minds of all who on November 3, attended the banquet given to him on his departure, at which he expressed himself, as so many of his predecessors had done, in a strain of hopefulness. After referring to the war with China, which he hoped soon to bring to a successful close, he went on to say that he desired "to emulate the magnificent beneficence of the Muhammadan Emperors in their great works of public utility, to perfect and extend the

canals of irrigation; gradually to impart to the natives of India, whatever of useful knowledge we have ourselves inherited or acquired, and thus to elevate the character and extend the happiness of that great and faithful people. . . Henceforth my first duty is to the people of India."

The new Governor-General had a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope in the frigate *Cambrian*, which anchored in the Madras Roads on February 21, 1842. As soon as she drew sufficiently near, he was startled by signals from the flag-staff in Fort St. George announcing to him the news of the disasters in Afghanistan, including the murder of the British Envoy. In his first letter to the Queen, informing her of his arrival at Calcutta on February 28, Lord Ellenborough sent her an interesting account of the exact position of affairs in India on his arrival. The most pressing and the most perilous part of the position to which he drew Her Majesty's attention was connected with Afghanistan. He stated that the garrisons of Jellalabad, Ghazni, and Khelat-i-Ghilzi were surrounded, and that the division of her army at Kandahar was unable to move owing to want of transport animals. He informed her that a force had been assembled at Peshawar intended to advance to the relief of Jellalabad, but that General Pollock, who commanded it, did not consider it was yet ready to push forward. "He seems to be a prudent officer," he wrote; "but it is impossible not to regard the position of his brigades, and still more that of Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, with much anxiety." Besides the effort the Governor-General was making for the efficiency of the two forces at Kandahar and Peshawar, he stated that he proposed to keep together a force near the Sutlej under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, well composed, well equipped, and of sufficient strength to overwhelm any enemy. He next informed Her Majesty of a mutinous disposition which had been shown in some regiments of the Madras army at Hyderabad. Two regiments were about to embark for service in China, when his ship was touching at Madras, and he had gone on board the transports to show that care was being taken to ensure the comfort of the

sepoys. A little show of firmness soon dispersed this slight cloud of military discontent. Lord Ellenborough gave the Queen certain details of the measures he had taken to increase the force sent to China, and to ensure success, while at the same time he urged on the General commanding there the necessity for bringing the war to a close. We may here state that these measures were successful, and that the war in China was prosecuted just as if no perils threatened India. Lord Ellenborough ended his Memorandum for the Queen with these words which, as she was then only three-and-twenty years of age, and sincerely anxious, as she has been ever since, for the highest welfare of her subjects, must have gone home to her heart: "Within the limits of the British dominions everything is at present tranquil. The last harvest was everywhere good, the prospect of the next harvest is good; all the sources of revenue are in a state of prosperity. Once relieved from the pressure of foreign war, the finances would soon assume a new and healthy character, and the Government would have at its disposal the means of bestowing the most extensive benefit upon the people."

It will thus be seen that the very first duty which lay before the Governor-General was the restoration of the fame of the British arms, and that he fully recognized this duty. Certain English garrisons were in peril, English prisoners, some of whom were ladies and children, were in captivity, and two English forces, at Peshawar and Kandahar, were unable to advance owing to insufficient supplies. On March 15, 1842, three days before the date of his Memorandum for the Queen, the Governor-General in Council issued a public Notification, in which these sentences occur: "The British Government is no longer compelled to peril its armies, and with its armies, the Indian Empire, in support of the Tripartite Treaty," which it will be remembered was entered into with Shah Shuja and Runjít Sing at the beginning of the war. "Whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations. . ., and to the establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow

upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, and to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities, and violate their faith; and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed." The policy thus stated received the cordial approval of all the English residents in India. It was considered right that the reverses sustained by the army should be retrieved, and that then Aghanistan should be quitted, and the Afghans left to select their own Amir.

Soon after the publication of this Notification, Lord Ellenborough left Calcutta by dák for the North-West Provinces. As he informed the Duke of Wellington, he wished to be nearer the scene of action, to be close to the army and in the middle of the Native states, and to be within reach of the Commander-in-Chief. Amidst the dreary scenes of disaster in Afghanistan there was one bright spot on which his eye and the gaze of all India could rest with satisfaction. This was the defence of Jellalabad. Sir Robert Sale's brigade had entered that town on the 13th of the previous November. A determined attack had been made on them on the following day by the armed population; but the enemy was scattered by a brilliant sortie, and in a few days the fortifications were put into good order, and the neighbouring mosques and forts and gardens were cleared.

The garrison received orders from Kabul to quit the place; but, with the courage which others had failed to show, they declined to obey such a cowardly command. The walls were in good order owing to the energetic labour of the whole garrison, and another successful sortie had procured sufficient food. On February 19 a sharp earthquake destroyed the labour of weeks; but, setting to work again with right good will, the fortifications were repaired so speedily that the Afghans declared that Jellalabad was the only place which the earthquake must have spared. Soon after, Akbar Khan came to take command

of the enemy's forces. He found, however, that he had different men to deal with than the disheartened defenders of the cantonments at Kabul. In March he made a vigorous attack on the town, but he was defeated in a still more vigorous sortie. Then, baffled in his direct attacks, he changed his plans, turned the siege into a blockade, and tried to compel the garrison to surrender by hunger. Another well-planned sortie was made on April 1, and five hundred sheep were captured. The garrison was composed of Her Majesty's 13th Regiment and the 35th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, and an instance here occurred of noble conduct which has, from time to time, occurred in Indian warfare, showing the brotherhood between European soldiers and their sepoy comrades. The sepoys gave up the sheep allotted to them to the Europeans, saying that they needed the food more than themselves. The garrison were aware that an attempt was being made to relieve them from Peshawar; but rumours reached them of failure, and Akbar Khan fired a salute, in their hearing, in honour of an Afghan victory. This was too much for these courageous men. A final desperate sortie was made, and on April 7, the enemy was thoroughly beaten, and fled from the neighbourhood. The garrison had thus relieved themselves. Lord Ellenborough, on hearing of this victory, issued an order congratulating them, and giving them the well-earned title of "the Illustrious Garrison." They had sustained the highest and best traditions of the Indian army.

Meanwhile, an advance was being made from Peshawar. Fear of the climate and dread of the enemy had so upset the sepoys under General Pollock that they were on the verge of mutiny, and he felt that they could not be trusted. So he patiently waited. By judicious reasoning he soothed the apprehensions of the sepoys; his force was strengthened by more European troops; and the most careful arrangements were made for an advance. At length, early in the morning of April 5, without beat of drum, a silent start was made for the entrance of the dreaded Khyber Pass. Every man knew what he had to do. A formidable barrier

had been erected by the enemy in the centre of the Pass, so the General sent a wing of the army to scale the mountains on the right hand and on the left; and, when the heights on either side had been successfully crowned, the enemy, finding himself attacked both in front and in rear, fled, and the dark Khyber Pass was cleared. General Pollock's force reached Jellalabad on April 16, and was gratified to find that its illustrious garrison had freed themselves by their own valour.

We must now turn to the other quarter whence an advance into Afghanistan was intended to be made. Kandahar had been gallantly defended by the troops under General Nott. They had held their own bravely all through that sad cold season. The garrison had issued out, from time to time, to attack and beat the enemy, who hovered in great numbers around the city. On one occasion, March 7, the Afghans pretended to flee, but returned by a circuitous way and attempted to take the citadel by assault. They were, however, foiled by the determined courage of the handful of men left for its defence. The fort of Ghazni was shamefully surrendered by the officer in command; but Khelat-i-Gilzai was splendidly defended by a small but noble garrison. A slight defeat was experienced in an effort to reinforce the troops at Kandahar; but it was speedily retrieved, and everything was ready for a forward movement from Kandahar as well as from Peshawar.

The Governor-General, who had at first seemed to be all in favour of an immediate advance, had now come to the conclusion that both armies should withdraw within the British frontier. He carefully explained the views which he at that time held upon this subject, in his letter to the Queen dated April 21, 1842. "Lord Ellenborough," he wrote, "has, under all circumstances, deemed it expedient to direct the retirement of General Nott, first on Quetta and ultimately on Sukkur on the Indus. Your Majesty's troops being redeemed from the state of peril in which they have so long been placed by their scattered positions, their imperfect equipment, and their distance from their communications with India, it will become a subject of

serious consideration whether they shall again advance upon Afghanistan by a new and central line of operation; or whether it will not be more advisable, our military reputation being re-established, to terminate, in conjunction with the Sikh Government, those operations in pursuance of the Tripartite Treaty to which that Government was a party." The Governor-General was, from the very first moment of his landing in India, of opinion that recent events had quite brought that treaty to an end. Public feeling in India was most unfavourable to the idea of the English armies retiring without having struck even one blow for the recovery of the prisoners and the retrieval of the national honour. It must be remembered, however, that Lord Ellenborough was in constant communication with the Duke of Wellington, to whom he wrote most fully and consulted very confidentially, and that he entirely approved of this measure. It must also be recollected that Lord Ellenborough had at first very little confidence in the ability or the discretion either of General Nott or of General Pollock, though he afterwards completely altered his opinion with regard to them both. He considered that the general opinion among the English in India as to the events in Afghanistan was ill-advised and erroneous. "There is," he wrote to the Duke of Wellington, "such a real madness in some military men, and in all political men, with respect to Afghanistan, that I am convinced every pretext will be sought to remain there, without an attainable object as regards the army at Kandahar, without adequate means of movement, and without communication."

There were two subjects especially which caused a broad division between himself and the English public in India. One was the absolute fashion in which he took into his own hands the management of everything connected with the war, and the other was the way in which he set his face against the employment of political officers, as they were called, with the army. With regard to the first, he felt and he wrote very strongly against the manner in which all orders and all military movements were made prematurely public, and discussed in the newspapers. "I

should tell you," he confides to the Duke under date May 17, 1842, "that, in order to preserve secrecy, I have been obliged to have every order to the Generals, and every important instruction to the political agents, copied only by my private secretary and aide-de-camp; and even the Council in Calcutta does not yet know the orders given. Nothing is secret in that place. Everything is divulged by folly or sold by treachery." We can scarcely believe this to be true of high-minded English gentlemen; but we give the words as showing the feeling of Lord Ellenborough, and giving the reasons for his action. This policy caused great offence to the members of Council, and was the beginning of the irritation felt against him by the Court of Directors. It was manifestly right for the Governor-General to do his utmost to prevent important orders being made public before the proper time; but even his friends, the Duke of Wellington, could not help remonstrating with him for not communicating with his lawful advisers.

With regard, however, to the influence of political officers, Lord Ellenborough was fully supported by the Duke, who, in fact, seems to have himself suggested the unwisdom of employing them. In a long letter in which he reviewed the situation in India on the Governor-General's arrival, the Duke wrote very strongly about this subject. "The reason," he added, "for which I have drawn your attention so particularly to the existing system is, that it is a novelty and an abuse of modern times arising out of jealousy of the power of military officers. But the consequence of its existence is, that the General officers, who, after all, must command the operations of the troops in action, will undertake nothing, except to obey the orders which the political agent or his deputies think proper to give them. A consideration of this state of things will show clearly the cause of the losses in Afghanistan and particularly of the want of energy and enterprise in Kabul."

We now return to the operations of the armies in the field. Neither General Pollock nor General Nott liked the idea of retiring within the frontier of India while so many

captives remained in Afghan hands, and former reverses were still unretrieved. Lord Ellenborough adhered to his plan that they should return to India, and yet he was evidently feeling the effect of public opinion, so he ingeniously gave General Nott the option, to use his own phrase, of retiring to India by way of Ghazni and Kabul instead of by the more direct route, and General Pollock of assisting him in this measure. He announces this decision to Her Majesty in these words: "Everywhere in the neighbourhood of Kandahar the enemy is dispirited, while the army of General Nott is in very fine order, in high spirits, and not ill-equipped. Under all these new and improved circumstances, Lord Ellenborough has thought that he might venture to place in the hands of General Nott the option of retiring by the route of Ghazni and Kabul, instead of that of Quetta and Sukkur, to the Indus. Care has been taken to place before the General all the risks and dangers, as well as all the advantages, of this operation. It must rest with him to decide." By the next mail he again wrote to her: "General Nott, after full consideration, has resolved on availing himself of the option given to him as to his line of retreat, and will march on Ghazni and Kabul. Your Majesty will perceive the noble spirit of an old soldier, aware of all the difficulties he is about to encounter, but calculating upon surmounting them all by prudent daring, and resolved to maintain the honour of the British arms." General Pollock was the first at Kabul, whither he marched in conjunction with Sir Robert Sale's brigade; and they had the pleasure of welcoming into their camp Lady Sale and all the other European prisoners. A scene of joy ensued which, in a certain measure, made up for the sad disasters which, less than a year before, had befallen them. The force reached Kabul on September 15, and encamped on the old cantonment ground after having, on their way, had several successful encounters with the enemy.

General Nott advanced toward Kabul from the opposite quarter. On September 5, he appeared before the stronghold of Ghazni, which was abandoned on his approach.

After one more victorious encounter with the enemy, his army encamped at Kabul on September 17. The great bazaar in that town, where Sir William Macnaghten's body had been exposed in derision, was destroyed, and on October 12, the combined force, now under the command of General Pollock, left for Peshawar, and was encamped there by November 7.

Directly the news of the successes at Kabul had been received, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation, dated October 1, 1842, announcing them in rather grandiloquent language. We quote the following well-known passage: "Disasters unparalleled in their extent, except by the errors in which they originated, have in one short campaign been avenged on every scene of past misfortune. The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force in a false position will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement and comfort of the people. The combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded to any force that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and, for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious Empire it has won in security and honour." This proclamation in accordance with the character of him who composed it, was written in too boastful a style, and it did not sufficiently harmonise with the feelings of the greater number of those who were full of gratitude for the deliverance of the captives and for the restoration of the honour of England. Although no letter from Her Majesty to Lord Ellenborough has been published, it is evident from his replies that some were written, and that she was very anxious about the release of the prisoners. In one of his letters he assures her that the General had been reminded that the Government had an equal regard for all Her Majesty's subjects, and that "the same care must be taken for effecting the release of the lowest sepoy as for effecting that of the first European." In reporting to the Queen the return of the army, he informs her that, although the retirement was not free from attack and loss, yet "the

number of native and European prisoners recovered by the armies much exceeds the total amount of loss sustained from the first advance upon Ghazni and Kabul to the day on which Afghanistan was finally evacuated."

Five days later another proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, composed in a still more extraordinary style. This was the celebrated proclamation regarding the gates of the temple of Somnath, which was intended to gratify the Hindu princes and people of India. These gates were said to have been carried away by the conqueror Mahmud of Ghazni, and placed in that fortress, and Lord Ellenborough directed General Nott to bring them with him as trophies of war on his return march. He intended that they should then be taken in triumph to Somnath and replaced at the entrance to the temple. "The insult of eight hundred years," he declared, "is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnath, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory." This ridiculous proclamation was received by the Hindus with indifference and by the English with derision. There seems strong evidence that these gates were not genuine; there was no temple to receive them; and they were finally put in a lumber-room in the fort at Agra. It appears, however, from his letters both to the Queen and to the Duke of Wellington, that Lord Ellenborough really believed that he was doing something which would endear him to the people of India, and the whole affair is an instance of how curiously people can deceive themselves. "The progress of the gates from Ferozepore to Somnath," he wrote to Her Majesty, "will be one great national triumph, and their restoration to India will endear the Government to the whole people."

Lord Ellenborough had thought it advisable to collect, soon after he proceeded upcountry, a large army of reserve on the frontier of the Panjab. The condition of India was troubled, and success in Afghanistan had not yet been assured, so this imposing force was assembled, ready to move in any direction. Now that the victorious armies were returning to India, the Governor-General determined

to receive them at Ferozepore with a grand military pageant. This took place towards the close of the eventful year 1842. The defenders of Jellalabad were welcomed with peculiar honour; the sepoys were feasted by the Governor-General's command; and a grand review of all the troops, including the returned forces and the army of reserve, was held. The concluding scene of the Afghan war was the release of Dost Muhammad Khan and his family, who been in honorable captivity in India since the beginning of the previous year. In announcing to Her Majesty his intention of effecting this release, Lord Ellenborough made the following remarks: "Lord Ellenborough trusts that your Majesty will approve of this act, at once of policy and of clemency. It will produce upon the minds of all the chiefs and people of India an effect most favourable to the character of the British Government; and your Majesty may be assured that the British power in this country, properly directed, is such as to render our interests unassailable, and even to place them beyond the reach of fear." On Dost Muhammad Khan's taking leave of the Governor-General at a private interview, the latter asked him what opinion he had formed of the English whom he had seen in India. "I have been struck," was his pithy reply, "with the magnitude of your power and your resources, with your ships, your arsenals, and your armies; but I cannot understand why the rulers of so great an Empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country."

On the camp at Ferozepore being broken up, the Governor-General returned to Agra, where he proposed to remain for some time, it being more central than Calcutta. On his way he held a grand durbar at Delhi, at which he received several Rajput and other princes and chiefs. We think it will be interesting to quote a passage from his letter to Her Majesty, informing her of this intended durbar, which gives his opinion regarding a measure that has since become an accomplished fact, namely, her assuming the title of Empress of India. "Lord Ellenborough," he wrote, "cannot but feel that the anomalous and unintelligible

position of the local Government of India excites great practical difficulties in our relations with native chiefs, who, in an Empire like ours, have no natural place, and must be continually in apprehension of some design to invade their rights and to appropriate their territories. All these difficulties would be removed were your Majesty to become the nominal head of the Empire. The princes and chiefs of India would be proud of their position as the feudatories of an Empress; and some judicious measures calculated to gratify the feelings of a sensitive race, as well as to inspire just confidence in the intention of their sovereign, would make the hereditary rulers of this great people cordially co-operate with the British Government in measures for the improvement of their subjects and of their dominions. Lord Ellenborough can see no limit to the future prosperity of India, if it be governed with due respect for the feelings, and even the prejudices, and with a careful regard for the interests of the people, with the resolution to make *their* well-being the chief object of the Government." These latter sentiments ought in fairness to be taken as the sincere expression of the Governor-General's heart, and the former as being the first suggestion to our youthful sovereign's mind of her present position as Empress.

Notwithstanding these gracious words regarding the people of India, and the earnest desires felt both in India and in England for peace, the war in Afghanistan was almost immediately followed by war in Scinde. In fact, it arose out of it, communication with Kabul having been kept up through the line of the Indus, and supplies having been obtained through the help of the Amirs or Chieftains of the country through which that river flows. We do not intend to give all the details of this sad strife, and certainly not to enter into the controversy arising out of it; but we propose to consider it, as we have tried to do with regard to other public events connected with the subjects of the memoirs in this series, from the point of view of the Governor-General himself. This purpose will be best served by reference to Lord Ellenborough's letters to the Queen and the Duke of Wellington rather than by extracts from

official despatches. We are better able to gather from them the true feeling of his mind and the exact impression of his thoughts. We will here only remark that we firmly believe that, if the negotiations with the unfortunate Amirs had been entrusted to Major Outram, whom they knew and trusted, instead of to Sir Charles Napier, the end desired by the Governor-General would have been peacefully obtained.

Treaties had been entered into with the Amirs of Scinde by Lord Auckland in 1839 regarding the navigation of the Indus, tribute for their territories, and the passage of troops through them to Afghanistan. The country was then divided into Upper and Lower Scinde and the territory of Meerpore. The chief Amir of Upper Scinde was Mir Rustum, an aged chieftain of eighty-five, whose brother Ali Morad was very anxious to obtain the succession to the *Rais* or headship. Lower Scinde was under the Amirs of Hyderabad, and Meerpore was ruled by an able chief, named Shere Muhammad. These were independent of each other, and yet in subsequent negotiations they were treated as jointly responsible for the acts of each. So early as May, 1842, Lord Ellenborough was under the impression that the Amirs entertained no friendly feelings towards the British Government, and he informed the Duke of Wellington that this was one of the signs he had observed of a change of feeling towards the English since the disasters had occurred in Afghanistan. General Sir Charles Napier arrived in Scinde on September 9 to take command of the troops there, and it was considered advisable that full authority, both political and military, should be placed in his hands. When informing Her Majesty of this fact, the Governor-General wrote: "It is expected that the Amirs, seeing the advance of forces from different points, will desist from the hostile intentions they have been said to entertain. Their conduct will be maturely considered, and if it should appear that designs have been entertained inconsistent with friendship towards the British Government, the punishment inflicted will be such as to deter all Indian Chiefs from similar treachery; but nothing will be done against any one of them without the clearest evidence of guilt." Several

passages in his letters occur indicating a very sensitive state of mind as to the feelings of the Amirs towards the British Government. The charges against them were referred to Sir Charles Napier, who dismissed all except three. These were, whether two treasonous letters were genuine and whether the minister of Mir Rustum had connived at the escape of a certain malcontent. These charges were considered as proved, and Sir Charles Napier was authorized to insist on the Amirs signing fresh treaties, agreeing to surrender certain territory to the Nawab of Bahawalpore and to the British Government, the latter being in lieu of payment of annual tribute, and to resign the right of coining money, which was a very tender point with the Amirs.

Lord Ellenborough seems to have put the most implicit faith in Sir Charles Napier. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington that he was charmed with him. Sir Charles appears, however, to have been very much under the influence of Ali Morad, whose sole object was to obtain not only the succession to, but the immediate possession of, his aged brother's territories. In fact, this was eventually the issue of his intrigues. Both Mir Rustum and the Amirs of Upper Scinde were dispossessed, and the other Amirs were summoned to Hyderabad to conclude the treaties which had been prepared for their signatures. The negotiations were carried on through Major Outram, the Resident, and, while they were proceeding the Amirs warned him that their Beluchi followers were gathering together in Hyderabad and its neighbourhood, and that they were quite unable to restrain the violence of the mob. The Residency was attacked on February, soon after the Amirs had affixed their seals and signatures to the treaties; but Major Outram and his escort, after a gallant defence of the house, escaped to a steamer in the river. This attack on the Residency could not be passed over. Sir Charles Napier with an army of 2700 men quickly advanced on Hyderabad, and on February 17, 1843, he encountered the Beluchi army nearly ten times their strength. They were posted at Meanee, near the river Fulailee, and the contest was very severe; but

the skilful generalship and strategy of Sir Charles Napier prevailed. Hyderabad surrendered to the conquerors. Another equally severe battle was fought on the 24th of the following month. The annexation of Scinde followed, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed Governor of the newly conquered Province. In a rough and ready fashion he administered the civil government for a year or two, and it was then made a Chief-Commissionership under the Government of Bombay.

The Governor-General was very severely criticized for his policy as to the negotiations with the Amirs and the annexation of Scinde. His policy certainly did not meet with the approval of the Court of Directors. He was himself fully persuaded that he had acted wisely and justly in this matter. In a letter to the Queen dated June 27, 1843, in which he makes a brief defence of his proceedings to her, he wrote: "Inasmuch as Lord Ellenborough is convinced that the policy he has adopted in Scinde is at once just and expedient, it is impossible for him to carry out measures which shall have any other object than that of permanently maintaining the position in which, he trusts, victory has now placed us on the Indus. Whatever may have been the decision taken with respect to his measures in Scinde, he feels assured that your Majesty's generosity will have induced your Majesty to place the most favourable interpretation upon the conduct of a Governor-General compelled, by the necessities of his position, to adopt at once a decisive line of policy, and to consider, not what might be said of his measures in England, but the effect which they would have upon the security and prosperity of the great Empire of which your Majesty's most gracious confidence permitted him to undertake the government." To the Duke of Wellington he wrote in greater detail about the course of his action and negotiations with the Amirs. He tells the Duke how he had all along doubted their friendliness and sincerity; and in the letter of March 22, he said: "subsequent events and discoveries, and the treachery of the Amirs, seemed to have proved that I was right in believing them to be at once hostile and

not to be depended upon. I do not see what course can now be pursued but that of taking the country we have conquered." The Duke of Wellington, knowing the anxiety of the cabinet and of the English people regarding the affairs of Scinde, wrote him a letter containing some very candid and friendly advice on the subject. The following sentences from it are worth quoting as showing the anxiety of the Duke himself and his confidence in his friend, Lord Ellenborough, who had evidently not sent to England regular despatches. "Several transactions," he wrote, "required explanation, not only of the course pursued, but even of the result. We have been at times a month waiting to be certain whether a battle fought was successful or otherwise; and it is even at this moment doubtful whether there will or will not be another great battle for the possession of Scinde. But whatever may have been the cause of the state of men's opinions and feelings, there can be no doubt of their existence—of the extreme embarrassment of the Government, and of danger to its existence and to the public interest, resulting from this Scinde affair." After a good deal more in the same strain, the Duke adds these warning words: "It is a great advantage for any individual to serve so great a nation as this; but that advantage is attended by its drawbacks, its difficulties, and various disagreeable circumstances. These are all in operation at this moment on this question. But a man such as you, endowed with your talents, who has performed such services as you have, and who has it in his power to serve his country as you have, should scorn these difficulties, and persevere to do all the good that he is permitted to do, be what they may the obstacles in his way. I earnestly recommend you then to persevere."

During the year 1843 Lord Ellenborough's attention was constantly directed to the extreme danger which threatened the North-West frontier of India from two practically irresponsible armies, which held almost paramount power, one in the Panjab and the other in Gwalior. There had been no cause for anxiety in the latter state since the last Mahratta war in 1817. The Maharaja Scindia died on

February 7, 1843, and much difficulty and perplexity ensued. He died without children; and his widow, adopted a young relation of the deceased with the full consent of the Governor-General. It then became necessary to appoint a Regent, for which position there were two candidates—Mama Sahib, uncle of the late Maharaja, and Dada Khasji Walla, one of the principal officers of State. The Governor-General preferred the former, and he was installed as Regent on February 23; but this was most distasteful to the young Maharani, who did her utmost to thwart the new Regent in the exercise of his power. He was ultimately dismissed by her, and his rival appointed in his place. On this the Resident, on the Governor-General's direction, withdrew from the capital. The town of Gwalior thereupon became the scene of contention between two rival factions. The army at Gwalior was, however, the real master of the state. The Governor-General insisted, at first in vain, for the surrender of Dada Khasji Walla, the Regent appointed by the Maharani. An English army was assembled on the frontier, and Lord Ellenborough, who, in accordance with the urgent advice of the Duke of Wellington, and the known wishes of the Court of Directors, had resided for some months at Calcutta, thought it right now to proceed to Agra so as to be near the scene of action. He arrived there on December 11. He was most anxious, if we may judge by his own words, that every thing should be settled peaceably, and, even as he was with the army on its advance towards Gwalior, he told the Queen that his policy towards that state had been adopted with extreme reluctance, and only from a conviction of its necessity; but he rightly considered that an exhibition of strength was necessary in order to overawe the excited and lawless armies both in the Panjab and in Gwalior. He was decidedly of opinion, and in this also he appears to have judged correctly, that the position which the English Government occupied made it supreme in India, and that it could not safely suffer lawlessness and anarchy in states so closely adjoining British territories, especially in the case of Gwalior, which was only six marches

from Agra, then the capital of the North-West Provinces. These sentiments were expressed in the following words in a letter to Her Majesty: "Your Majesty will not have failed to observe how very different a position the British Government stands in Europe from that in which it is placed in India. In Europe peace is maintained by the balance of power among the several states. In India all balance has been overthrown by our preponderance, and to exist we must continue to be supreme. The necessity of our position may often render necessary measures wholly unsuited to the state of things which prevail in Europe. It will ever be Lord Ellenborough's desire, should he be compelled to adopt such measures, to make them as far as possible conformable to European views and principles, but he feels that his first duty is to preserve this Empire to your Majesty's Crown, and he will never hesitate to adopt the measures that may appear necessary to secure that object." These principles were embodied in a carefully written and temperate Minute, dated November 1, 1843.

Before the Governor-General's arrival at Agra, a distinct demand had been made for the surrender of Dada Khasji Walla; who had been the Maharani's favourite and adviser throughout, and who had kept back from her an important letter from the Governor-General. Every pretext had been used to evade this demand. Orders were given for the advance of the British army; but, as it drew near the frontier, the obnoxious Regent was surrendered. It was, however, too late. Two British armies were converging on Gwalior from opposite quarters; and their progress could not be arrested unless assurance could be given that a strong Government in Gwalior should be formed, and the Mahratta army considerably reduced. The provisions insisted on by the Governor-General were taken from the treaty of Burhanpore in 1804, which was concluded by Colonel Malcolm under the Duke of Wellington, whose example and advice he desired almost implicitly to follow.

The Mahratta Army now took the matter into their own hands. They would not permit the Maharani even to enter into negotiations with the Governor-General; and marched

out of Gwalior with the avowed purpose of opposing the advance of the English troops. The two forces met, on December 29, at the village of Maharajpore. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-chief, who was in command of the army that was approaching from Agra, was taken by surprise in coming on the Mahratta army strongly entrenched near the village. The battle was very severe, being stubbornly contested on both sides; but victory remained with the English force, though their losses were very great. The Governor-General himself was present at the action, and it is said showed great courage, going about in the most dangerous parts of the field, and giving money and oranges to the wounded. On the same day another victory was gained at Punniar by the division under General Grey, which was advancing on Gwalior from the south. Two days afterwards both Maharani and the young Maharaja came into the Governor-General's camp, and had an interview with him. A fresh treaty was entered into, and a scheme for the better government of the state of Gwalior was prepared. A council of six Sirdars was created, who were to act implicitly in accordance with the advice of the Resident; the Maharaja's army was considerably reduced; and a contingent force under English officers was raised, the Fort of Gwalior being placed in its possession. Lord Ellenborough rightly considered that he had acted in this matter with the greatest justice and moderation. In reporting to Her Majesty the double victory, he used the following language: "Lord Ellenborough has carefully made known to all the native powers the grounds of British intervention in the affairs of Gwalior, and the views of justice and moderation by which the Government has been guided in the moment of victory." "I have maintained the reputation of our Government," he wrote to the Duke of Wellington, "which seemed to me involved, in our treating the House of Scindia in the person of a minor with protecting kindness and consideration."

Soon after the execution of this treaty and the settlement of Gwalior, the Governor-General returned to Calcutta, where he arrived in the first week of March, 1844. He

considered this step advisable as he thought that his return from the Upper Provinces would do more than anything else towards creating in the minds of men generally throughout India some degree of confidence in the continuance of peace. On June 15th all India was startled on hearing that he had been recalled by the Court of Directors. This event had for some time been expected both by the Cabinet in England and by Lord Ellenborough himself; but it came as a surprise to the Indian public. The Court of Directors had not only disapproved of his policy, but had felt much displeasure at the manner in which he had kept them in ignorance of his measures and his proposed methods of carrying them into effect. He had, in fact, ignored their authority and despised their influence, forgetting that he was no longer President of the Board of Control, where he exercised power superior to theirs, but that he was, as Governor-General, under their control. He had, for the greater part of his time of service, separated from his Council at Calcutta, and virtually acted, single-handed, as an autocratic despot. He was in the habit of corresponding directly with the various officers in matters of importance without consulting the heads of departments, as, for instance, in the case of Scinde, the Governor of Bombay was not consulted. The Court of Directors disapproved of the Governor-General's policy regarding the conquest and annexation of Scinde; and as the Gwalior war so quickly succeeded that against the Amirs, it convinced them that he was more inclined to a warlike policy than to measures of peaceful progress and improvement. The Duke of Wellington had kindly given him a friendly warning as to the way in which matters were tending so early as November, 1842. "In the existing state of the public mind," he wrote, "there could be nothing more injurious to you than that it should be supposed that you had not fully communicated to the President in Council (in Calcutta) all that you were required to communicate, or that any report had been made to the Secret Committee (of the Court of Directors in England) till the time will come at which an opportunity will be afforded of justifying all the orders you

have given, and of showing how appropriate each of them was to the circumstances within your knowledge at the moment at which each was given." Again, writing in February, 1843, the Duke earnestly enjoins caution on him in these words: "I advise you to be very cautious, not only in respect of your acts, which I do not doubt that you will be, but respecting the modes of execution which you may adopt, especially to your agents, your writings, your conversations, even in private." Lord Ellenborough's dislike to the Court of Directors will be best understood by a quotation from one of his letters to the Duke. "India," he wrote, "can only be governed by great views, and as India; and these gentlemen would have me govern it on little views, and as England; but that I will not do." We give, by way of conclusion to this portion of his life, the last sentence of his correspondence with the Queen, being his own review of his administration written to the highest authority in England. "Amidst all the difficulties," he said, "with which he has had to contend, aggravated as they have been by the constant hostility of the Court of Directors, Lord Ellenborough has ever been sustained by the knowledge that he was serving a most gracious mistress, who would place the most favourable construction upon his conduct; and he now humbly tenders to your Majesty the expression of his gratitude, for that constant support which has animated all his exertions, and has mainly enabled him to place India in the hands of his successor in a state of universal peace, the result of two years of victories, and in a condition of prosperity heretofore unknown."

Lord Ellenborough remained at Calcutta till the arrival of his successor, to whom he gave over charge on July 23, and left on August 1, 1844, less than two years and a half after he had entered on the duties of his high and responsible office. On his return to England he remained for a season unemployed, but was diligent in his attendance at the House of Lords. In 1846 he joined the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1848 he returned, being the fourth time he held the office, to his former position as

President of the Board of Control. He very much disapproved of Lord Canning's Proclamation regarding Oude after the Great Mutiny, and wrote in condemnation of it a despatch, the premature publication of which made a remarkable sensation, offended the Queen, and embarrassed Her Majesty's Ministers. The Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli, having taken upon himself the responsibility of disavowing this declaration of policy, Lord Ellenborough resigned his office on May 10, 1858. After this he did not re-enter the public service. He was a frequent and forcible speaker in the House of Lords; but the people generally had lost confidence in him, and he was not again invited to take a seat in the English Cabinet. He died on December 22, 1871, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was married twice. His first wife died young, and we have already recorded the expression of his great grief on this account. He afterwards, in 1824, married Miss Digby; but the marriage proved an unhappy one. His only child died in infancy, so that no one succeeded to the Earldom which was granted him for his eminent services in India; but the lower position of Baron was inherited by one of his nephews.

Lord Ellenborough was a very distinguished, strong, self-reliant man, who was capable of forming clear and well-defined opinions of his own, and who had the moral courage to carry them into practice, even though they were generally condemned; but this very strength of character made him imperious, overbearing, and autocratic. He was eccentric in his ideas and bombastic in his manners. He sometimes did foolish things, imagining that they were wise. There is no doubt, however, that England owes him a debt of gratitude for having retrieved the disasters of the Afghan war, and India is no less indebted to him for having placed her in a position of peacefulness and secure defence. Just at the moment of his arrival in the country the great need was felt for a firm and decided hand to grasp the helm of state; but it would have been better for his own reputation if he had acted in a calmer and quieter manner, for great strength is enhanced by gentleness and modesty. His character was admirably drawn in a leading article

which appeared in the *Times* newspaper the day after his death, and we cannot conclude this brief sketch better than by reproducing a few sentences from it. "Lord Ellenborough," the writer stated, "was trusted by the foremost statesmen of the age; his policy was accepted and maintained by them; there never was a time when it was not possible that he might be called to form a Cabinet; and yet he had little hold on Parliament or the nation. The cause of this seems to have lain in the supposed impulsiveness and flightiness of his character, and a certain tendency to despotic proceedings. The public withdrew its confidence, and, in spite of the most highly-placed apologists, would not restore it. He was imposing in person, dignified in deportment, powerful and persuasive in language; but, when placed in a high position, he made his will felt with little consideration for those below or around him. Moreover, his judgment could not be depended upon. No one could say what he would do next, or whether his grandest enterprise might not have a sequel of failure."

139128

VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

FROM A.D. 1785 TO A.D. 1856.

"No sovereign ever possessed a more honest and faithful councillor or a more loyal, fearless, and devoted servant."

Queen Victoria.

AFTER the memorable battle of Waterloo the allied armies of the English and the Prussians entered the city of Paris, and Marshal Blücher, the Prussian Commander, with his officers, occupied the imperial palace of St. Cloud. One evening a young English officer who had been wounded arrived there, and found that the palace had been lit up in his honour. Guards lined the principal staircase holding torches in their hands, and Marshal Blücher and his staff were standing on the top to welcome him. The Marshal then came down the stairs to embrace him, saying, "My dear friend, to-night you shall be in comfort;" and the guards lifted him up gently, and placed him in a bed formerly occupied by an Empress. This young officer was Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge, who had been selected by the Duke of Wellington to represent the English army on Marshal Blücher's staff, and to whom the Prussian Commander had become very much attached. The remembrance of this weird scene, of the darkness being lighted up by the flaring torches, of the welcome accorded by the bluff old Marshal, of the tender kindness shown by the tall Prussian guards, lingered long in his memory.

Henry Hardinge was the third son of the Rev. Henry Hardinge, a clergyman, who was the rector of Stanhope in the county of Durham, and was born at Wrotham in the county of Kent on March 30, 1785. He was educated at a school at Durham; but at a very early age, indeed and when he was less than fifteen, he entered the army and joined a regiment which was then serving in Canada. In 1804, when he was still only nineteen, he was promoted to

be a captain; and, soon afterwards, entered the Royal Military College as a student. After studying there for more than a year and a half, he was sent, in December, 1807, to join the staff of the Quarter-Master-General's department in the army then despatched to help the Portuguese and Spaniards against the French. This is generally known as the Peninsular War. Captain Hardinge served with distinction in this war. He took part in several of the more important battles fought during it, and was wounded four times. He had the privilege of being present at the battle of Corunna, and of being by the side of that brave hero, Sir John Moore, when he was mortally wounded. Many of our readers may have read or learned the beautiful verses in which the poet has described the burial of Sir John Moore, and these lines have caused his heroism to be known and remembered to this day. The first verse will recall them to our reader's memory.

> "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
> As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
> Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
> O'er the grave where our hero we buried."

The action, however, in which Captain Hardinge most distinguished himself, was that of Albuera, in which perhaps the severest and most stubborn contest between the English and the French took place. In fact, it was his promptitude and decision that turned the tide of battle, which was at first going against the English. He was high in the favour of the Duke of Wellington, who commanded during the greater part of the Peninsular War, and whose singular military genius defeated several of Napoleon's greatest generals. He was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's Guards, and on January 2, 1815, he received the honour of knighthood, being made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. During the brief campaign in 1815 which ensued after the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte from Elba, and which ended in the crowning victory of Waterloo, Sir Henry Hardinge, as we have already stated, represented the English army on Marshal Blücher's staff, for which position the Duke of

Wellington specially chose him as an officer possessing a large amount of firmness, tact, and judgment. He was on June 15th, at Marshal Blücher's side during the whole of the battle of Ligny, which preceded Waterloo, and near the close of the day his left hand was shattered by a cannon ball, and it had afterwards to be cut off. He had the courage, however, to remain by Blücher till the very end of the battle; but he was not present at the battle of Waterloo itself.

For more than twenty years afterwards Sir Henry Hardinge was busily employed and greatly distinguished in a very different scene of action to that of war. In 1820 he entered Parliament as the member for the city of Durham; and he represented either that city or Launceston in the House of Commons, with a brief exception, until 1844, when he was appointed Governor-General. During the period when he sat in Parliament he was often employed in the service of the Government as a Minister of the Crown. He belonged to the Tory or Conservative party; and whenever that party was in power during the above-mentioned period, he was offered some high office in the State. He was twice the Secretary at War, and he twice served as Chief Secretary for Ireland, the latter being a peculiarly difficult and responsible, but, at the same time, a very thankless position. When some one expressed to the Duke of Wellington a doubt of his fitness for this appointment, the Duke replied: "Hardinge will do; he always understands what he undertakes, and undertakes nothing but what he understands." He had no easy task to perform, for he was compelled by his position to confront in Parliament the attacks of the celebrated and eloquent Daniel O'Connell, who advocated the repeal of the union between England and Ireland. We quote one passage only from a speech he delivered in the House of Commons, both as a specimen of his own oratory, and as the expression of an opinion which, even at the present day, would apply equally to Ireland and to India. "Let me ask any calm and moderate statesman," he said "whether the Irish people are really insulted because there is a

refusal to pass laws of the same nature and principle as those passed for England. The real principle, for all practical purposes, appears to be to consider the social, political, and religious state of the country, and to legislate in such a manner as to afford equal protection to every profession and party, and to give equal enjoyment of all rights and privileges to every subject." It is said that, as Secretary at War, Sir Henry Hardinge fairly won the title of the "Soldier's Friend"; but it is beyond the scope of this memoir to describe the measures by which he earned this creditable title. During his Parliamentary career, he was particularly attached to his chief, Sir Robert Peel, who, on his part, entertained for him a peculiar affection.

Sir Henry Hardinge had thus obtained very great experience both in his own profession as an officer who had seen much service and had highly distinguished himself, and in political life as a member of Parliament and as a Cabinet Minister. When, therefore, Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the Court of Directors, much satisfaction was felt when he was offered the post of Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough himself, who was his brother-in-law and friend, was pleased that he was to be succeeded by one whom he so much esteemed. "The selection of Sir Henry Hardinge as my successor," he wrote, "was a most wise measure. It has done all that could be done to obviate any evils which might otherwise have arisen from my recall." At the banquet given to the outgoing Governor-General by the Court of Directors, the Chairman spoke very strongly as to the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court,—the principal point in which his predecessor had failed. "We are persuaded," he said, "that you will impress this feeling on our servants abroad, not merely by precept, but by your example." It was confidently and earnestly hoped that peace in India would be maintained, although the Court of Directors must have known the danger impending on the North-West frontier from the army of the Sikhs, so the Chairman stated the exact position of affairs when he said: "By our latest intelligence we are induced to hope that peace will be preserved in India. I need not say that

it is our anxious wish that it should be so. You know how great are the evils of war. And we feel confident that, while ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honour of the country and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific. It has always been the desire of the Court that the government of the East India Company should be eminently just, moderate, and conciliatory; but the supremacy of our power must be maintained, when necessary, by the force of our arms."

Sir Henry Hardinge, when he accepted the appointment of Governor-General, was in his sixtieth year, an age at which it is not usual for European gentlemen to enter on arduous duties in a tropical climate. He had already declined the offer of the post of Commander-in-Chief of India, which had been made to him two years before; but he considered it his duty on this occasion to respond to the request of his friends, and especially of Sir Robert Peel; and, though the fact of leaving many who were dear to him in England was a great wrench, his sense of patriotism led him to undergo it cheerfully. It is only right to quote the words used later by Sir Robert Peel in order to show the position in England which he was giving up. "He made a great sacrifice," said that eminent statesman, speaking in the House of Commons, "from a sense of public duty. He held a prominent place in the Councils of Her Majesty; he was held in great esteem in this House. He was regarded by the army of this country as its friend, because he was the friend of justice to all ranks. It was proposed to him to relinquish his place in the councils of his Sovereign, and to forego the satisfaction he must have felt at what he could not fail to see, that he was an object of general respect and esteem." He had to leave behind one who was peculiarly dear to him. On December 10, 1821 he had been united to Emily, daughter of the Marquis of Londonderry, who had been previously married to the late Mr. James, British Minister at the Court of the Netherlands. Lady Hardinge was in too delicate a state of health to permit of her going with him to India; and, when later in the year, she attempted to follow him, her medical adviser

insisted on her return. Sir Henry left England on June 12, 1844, and he was the first Governor-General who went out by the overland route, going through France and Egypt to Calcutta, where, accompanied by his eldest son, who has lately written an admirable biography of him, and his aide-de-camp, Colonel Wood, he arrived on July 23. He took the oaths on the same day, and on the next day entered on the responsible duties of his office. The most important events of his administration were connected with the first Panjab war; but, before referring to it, we must devote a little space to the humbler and more peaceful details of his first year in this country. It is said that, before his leaving England, he had an interview with that wise and able ruler whose government is still remembered with affection in Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who warned him against interfering with the details of civil government. He acted, we believe, on this advice, and fully trusted the Secretaries and others in whose charge the various departments of the state were placed; but he heartily applied himself to master the principles of all the great measures then before the Government of India. One of the first of this was the subject of education, which has since become so very prominent in the thoughts of subsequent Governors-General and Viceroys, and which has, of late years, made such rapid strides. Within three months of his arrival, on October 10, 1844, he wrote a minute, in which occurs the following passage, and which he tried to follow up by promoting those who had proved their ability by passing successful examinations. "The Governor-General," he wrote, "having taken into consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by the Government as by private individuals

and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of canditates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit." That was the day of small things in the matter of education; and five hundred Hindu gentlemen, feeling grateful for the sentiments he had expressed, met in Calcutta to present an address of thanks to the Governor-General. Another measure which he advanced was the reduction of the salt-tax in Bengal. He also gave his attention to the subject of Railway communication in India. He advocated the construction of the Grand Trunk Line, and the free grant of land and other advantages to private Companies. But the best and most useful measure which he past before leaving Calcutta for the Upper Provinces was an order forbidding Sunday labour in all Government offices. His son and biographer has rightly called this order, "a boon to all creeds, and one that was thoroughly appreciated by every section of the community"— not to Christians only. "It means a weekly day of rest to hundreds of thousands who would not otherwise have had one." This first year of work at the capital was a busy one. His usual custom was, after a short ride in the early morning, to transact the day's business with the several secretaries. He had been recommended not to grant interviews to petitioners and others. "Had he done so," his son remarks, "it would have been impossible, ruling, as he then did, Lower Bengal as well as the whole of India, to have got through his day's work."

As the year 1845 wore on, it became necessary that the Governor-General should visit the North-West frontier. He arrived at Umballa on December 3. Affairs in the Panjab were very threatening, and an invasion of India by the Sikh army was imminent. Since the death of the strong old despot Ranjít Sing on June 27, 1839, there had been no settled government in the Panjab. There had, in fact, been little less than anarchy. Sovereigns and ministers had been murdered, and all real power was in the hands of

the army. The soldiery would obey no one save themselves, and they were governed not by their own officers even, but by military *pancháyats.* At the time of Sir Henry Hardinge's arrival in India, Dhuleep Sing, the infant son of Ranjít Sing, then nearly five years of age, was the Maharaja, and his mother was the Queen Regent, while Heera Sing, who had attached the troops to his interest by an increase of pay, was Prime Minister. In December, 1844, he offended the army by attempting to curtail its power, and he was put to death together with his influential Hindu adviser. The management of affairs was then usurped by Jowahir Sing; the Maharani's brother, and by her favourite Lal Sing. The former, however, did not remain long in power, for he was condemned and executed by order of a military *pancháyat.* The allegiance of the army was divided between Lal Sing and a Sirdar named Tej Sing, Lal Sing being appointed Prime Minister and Tej Sing the General in command. Gulab Sing, whom the Governor-General in one of his letters describes as the most remarkable man in the Panjab, and who had risen to great eminence from having been a menial in Ranjít Sing's employ, was destined to take a prominent part in the affairs of the country, more by generally holding back and coming forward at critical times than by exercising any great share in the government. The Maharani had urged the army to coerce both him and Mulraj, the Dewan of Multan; and now, to divert it from doing damage, she incited it to cross the Sutlej and to invade British India.

It has been said that Lord Ellenborough prided himself on the profound peace in which he handed over India to his successor. This can scarcely have been the case, for, although there was quiet at that time, no one knew better than he that a struggle was inevitable, although it might be postponed for a time. So early as February, 1844, he had informed Her Majesty of this fact. "It is to be hoped," he wrote, "that the state of the Panjab may not render necessary in December next an operation beyond the Sutlej; but every prudent preparation will be made with a view to enabling the army to make that operation whenever it may

become necessary. It must be always viewed as a measure which can only be deferred." Her Majesty's Ministers were perfectly aware of the position of affairs on the frontier. So were the Court of Directors. It was in view of this danger, that one was appointed Governor-General who was a distinguished soldier as well as a statesman of some experience. From the very first Sir Henry Hardinge's attention was drawn to the attack expected from the Panjab and the defence of the frontier. Lord Ellenborough had considerably increased the forces in that quarter; but the new Governor-General did not think that the increase was sufficient, so he gradually and quietly reinforced the frontier military stations, until the total force numbered about 40,500 men with ninety-four guns. The result of these arrangements was that, nine days after the Sikhs had crossed the Sutlej, they were met by an army of nearly 20,000 men on the field at Ferozeshah.

The Sikhs completed the crossing of the boundary river on December 12, 1845. It seems that the strength and the enthusiasm of the Khalasa army were not at first realized even at head-quarters. The Sikh soldiers were, it is true, full of presumption and vain glory. They had, however, been trained under European officers, and were animated by religious and national zeal of no common order. They composed, perhaps, the bravest and best disciplined army that had ever encountered the British arms in India. On December 12, the Governor-General received intelligence of the Sikh invasion, and he at once issued a proclamation declaring war, and annexing to the British territories all the districts belonging to the Sikhs on the south of the Sutlej. He then rode from Ambala to Ludhiana, the garrison of which place he removed on his own authority to Basian, which was the grain depôt for the English army, and therefore of great importance. The garrison of Ferozepore was likewise strengthened, and its commandant, Sir John Littler, considered it quite able to defend the town from any attack. The Sikh army declined his offer of battle, and Lal Sing, who commanded the main army,

marched ten miles to Ferozeshah, where he constructed formidable entrenchments, leaving a smaller force under Tej Sing to watch Sir John Littler's movements. Hearing, however, that both the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief were advancing towards him, he went forward to meet them to the village of Mudki. Lal Sing had taken up his position behind a jungle, waiting to be attacked, but finding that the English army (December 13,) had halted at the end of a wearying march of twenty-one miles over a barren plain, he moved out to the attack. Though taken for the moment by surprise, order soon prevailed. The action was begun late and went on far into the night. The enemy's attempt to outflank with his cavalry was successfully met, and the Sikhs were driven from each position, the conflict being maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust which made it difficult to distinguish between friend and foe. "We advanced through some jungle," said Sir Henry Hardinge, in a private letter to the President of the Board of Control, "and after a heavy cannonade and file-firing, drove our assailants back at every point, advancing about four miles from our camp and capturing seventeen guns. The darkness of the night, and the risk of the troops firing into each other, which they did, rendered it necessary that the pursuit should not be continued."

Sir Henry Hardinge had not been appointed to the combined offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, as had been done in the case of military officers who had formerly been in position of his high office. Desiring, however, to remain with the army in the field and to assist the Commander-in-Chief the utmost of his power, he nobly offered to place himself under the orders of the latter as second in command, an offer which was thankfully accepted. It now appears, according to letters which have recently been published for the first time by his son, that the authorities in England disapproved of this step; and, on receiving news of the first two severe battles in the Panjab, evidently were anxious that he should be in full command. "The Cabinet have decided," the President

of the Board of Control wrote to him, "that it is indispensably necessary that some means should be taken whereby the command of all the operations in the field should be under you. It has a very strange and somewhat unseemly appearance that the Governor-General should be acting as second in command to the Commander-in-Chief in the field; and as these Panjab affairs are so much mixed up with political matters it is quite reasonable that the same head should direct both." Therefore a letter from the Queen was sent to him, enabling him as Lieutenant-General on the staff to command personally all the troops in India. This letter did not reach him till the final victories had been gained, and there was no need to use the power entrusted to him. He magnanimously replied that the affair had been embarrassing to him, adding, "But I have taken my line and done my best; and as the suspension of the order can do no harm; I hope to spare Sir Hugh Gough's feelings by preventing the publication of an arrangement made under very different circumstances from those in which we are now placed."

Three days after Mudki another and even a severer battle took place. On December 20 a night march was made, and by daybreak the army found themselves before the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozeshah, which were very formidable, and skilfully arranged in a parallelogram. A circuitous route had been taken so as to attack the weakest side of the Sikh encampment. Just as the army had halted, and the Governor-General and his staff were taking something to eat on horseback, the Commander-in-Chief rode up and exclaimed, "Sir Henry, if we attack at once, I promise you a splendid victory"! A small grove was near, and the two officers went there to have a quiet conference. Sir Hugh Gough repeated his proposal for an immediate attack several times, the Governor-General objecting. At length the latter closed the argument by saying, "Then, Sir Hugh, I must exercise my civil powers as Governor-General, and forbid the attack until Littler's force has come up." This was a force consisting of some 5,000 men from Ferozepore, which was under the command of Sir John Littler. He

had been directed to join the main army; and had, at eight A. M. left his camp standing at Ferozepore, with a sufficient force for defence, had evaded the vigilance of Tej Sing, and joined the army at about one o'clock. There was a delay in beginning the action after Sir John Littler's arrival, and there was but little day-light left to fight in; but, according to Sir Henry Hardinge's opinion, it would not have been right to have put off the battle. "About three P. M. we were formed," he wrote, "opposite the entrenched camp" of the Sikhs, "and, I think, on the weakest side. It was scarcely possible to adopt any other alternative than to fight the battle that afternoon. The men were not tired. There were three hours of day light. The moral effect of fighting at once prevented Tej Sing from coming up. I entirely approved of the battle being fought that evening."

The description of the battle of Ferozeshah has often been written. We will, therefore, give the account here according to the principle of this series, from the letters of the Governor-General himself, which have recently been published by his son, the present Viscount Hardinge, and which are the more interesting because they contain details that have never before been made public. They give a vivid picture of this terrible engagement, and, of course, they include not only what he himself actually saw, but an abstract of the reports officially addressed to him. "The ground," he wrote, "was intersected with low trees and bushes rendering the advance in line very difficult; and when we did open into the plain, the fire from the batteries was tremendous." Sir Hugh Gough was in command of the right of the army; Sir Henry commanded the centre; and Sir John Littler the left. "The people under my immediate command," Sir Henry continued, "carried the battery and camp; and we were pushing through in the midst of their tents, when by the explosion of some powder the tents caught fire, and we were obliged, almost in the dark, to take up ground on the edge of the burning camp. Here I insisted on every man lying down and not talking." "We had gained," he said elsewhere, "that portion of the camp opposed to us, as did the right

under Sir Hugh Gough." "On the left, Littler having failed by" one of the European regiments "giving way, he retired a short distance, and we could not find him. On my right I was joined in about an hour by the Commander-in-Chief." "Thus the left centre having perfectly succeeded, but obliged by the burning of the camp and the darkness of the night to suspend its operations, we remained quiet, the enemy on both flanks of the camp firing in the dark, while their camp opposite to us was continually exploding live shells and loose powder. Whenever they were too impudent, I ordered up Colonel Wood," his aide-de-camp, "with the 80th and 1st Europeans. The vigour of this attack caused the enemy to recede and confine their firing to the batteries on their extreme flanks. I had been on horseback since four the preceding morning, and I lay down successively with four of the British regiments to ascertain their temper and give the encouragement required. I found myself again with my old Peninsula friends, all in good heart." The calmness, coolness, courage, and self-forgetfulness of the Governor-General during that appalling night are beyond all praise. His example put life and energy into every drooping heart. Whenever any suggestion of retreat to Ferozepore was made, he replied that their line of duty was quite clear, namely, to wait patiently for the morning, and then, without a moment's hesitation, to attack the enemy and carry everything before them that remained to be carried. "When morning came," he continued, "we carried battery after battery without a check, and completed the victory which the conflagration and darkness had suspended. From about eight to eleven A.M. and at three P.M. the enemy came towards us with immense bodies of cavalry and infantry. The latter showed the same spirit as before; but, whenever our jaded men advanced, the Sikhs retired." "At three o'clock a demonstration was made. The infantry was in line, in a firm attitude to resist any attack. At this moment the British cavalry were suddenly seen to go off towards Ferozepore, followed by the horse artillery. The infantry, with the greatest unconcern, held their ground and advanced when

required." This movement of the cavalry was made under a misapprehension, a wrong order having been given by an irresponsible officer. "The enemy again retired, afraid of the infantry." It is believed that they imagined this retreat was intended as a flank movement to cut them off from the river. "We slept in the open air in rear of the infantry. The Sikhs were evidently in full retreat." With reference to the whole of the operations of this stubbornly contested battle, the Governor-General thus sums up his impressions: "I know I am not responsible for military misconceptions, nor will I say one word on the extraordinary position in which I am placed. I have never desponded; and now I can sincerely assure you that, as far as these difficult operations are concerned, I am perfectly satisfied. No impression has been made on the loyalty of the sepoys. Victory has re-assured the wavering."

Before these battles the garrison at Ludhiana had been considerably decreased, and a band of Sikhs now attacked the cantonments. A large force, moreover, crossed the Sutlej under a leader named Ranjur Sing near Ludhiana. A force was immediately despatched under Sir Harry Smith to encounter him, and to relieve Ludhiana. After some mishaps Sir Harry Smith was, on January 28, 1846, entirely successful in defeating his opponent near the village of Aliwal.

The attention of every one was now directed towards Sobraon, where, on the left bank of the Sutlej, the Sikhs had carefully been constructing another strong entrenched camp, with a bridge across the river in its rear. A considerable delay in attacking it was caused by the necessity for obtaining siege guns and ammunition from Delhi. There was communication between the Governor-General at Ferozepore and the Commander-in-Chief in his camp near Sobraon. The present Lord Hardinge relates what pleasant rides his father and the staff used to have in riding from Ferozepore to Sobraon two or three times a week. "Starting at daybreak in the fresh air of the morning," he says, "we were then a group of joyous spirits, the Governor-General heading the cavalcade on his favourite Arab 'Mi-

ani,' and followed by the escort of the body-guard. A few days before the impending battle, Sir Henry had a severe fall, his horse coming down with him, and bruising his leg; but when the news of the approach of the long-expected siege train was received, he at once hastened to the Commander-in-Chief's camp in a light mule carriage. When the morning of the engagement February 10, arrived, he mounted his horse as usual; though still suffering from the effects of his fall.

It was intended that no assault on the formidable batteries of the Sikhs should be made until an impression had been made upon them by the heavy guns which had now been received. "If, upon the fullest consideration," Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, "the artillery can be brought into play, I recommend you to attack; if it cannot, and you anticipate a heavy loss, I would recommend you not to attempt it." The Commander-in-Chief agreed with this opinion; but it was considered feasible to make the attempt, and, as the dense mist that hung over the plain at day-break rolled away, the guns opened on the entrenchments, and, for two hours, a vigorous cannonade was carried on from both sides. No great impression, however, was made on the strongly planted batteries of the enemy, and it was determined to take the entrenchments by assault. The principal attack was to be made by the left of the English army against the western defences of the Sikhs entrenchments which appeared to be the weakest, while feigned attacks were made by the centre and the right. The defence was, however, so stubborn that it was necessary to turn the feigned attacks into real ones. The fire was so hot that the assailants at all three points gave way for a time; but courageously rallying, carried all before them. At the point nearest to him, the Governor-General, seeing that the line was wavering, shouted, "'Rally those men.' No sooner were the words out of his mouth than his aide-de-camp, Colonel Wood, galloped to the centre of the line, and, seizing the colours from the hands of the ensign, carried them to the front." All along the line this rally occurred; and the cavalry, entering an

opening in the entrenchments, helped to discomfit the enemy. The Sikh guns were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the Sikh army hurried towards their bridge of boats, which, according to the account of the present Lord Hardinge, who was an eye-witness of what occurred, gave way under the pressure of the men, horses, and guns which crowded on it, and the rapidly flowing river was filled with a struggling mass of fugitives. Very few escaped. The vast army which had, a few weeks before invaded British India, was driven back across the Sutlej. Sixty-seven guns fell into the victors' hands, and the brave Khalsa array had been thoroughly defeated. That evening six regiments crossed into the enemy's country near Ferozepore. The Governor-General himself crossed the river two days later, and, by the 13th, the whole army with the exception of three brigades, had set foot in the Panjab. As Sir Henry Hardinge was personally engaged in these battles, we have given the account of them more in detail than we should otherwise have done; and we close this description of the battle of Sobraon with a few extracts from a letter afterwards written by himself. "When the attacking column," he wrote, "was repulsed, I was obliged to order Gilbert's division forward at once, who, after a gallant advance, was, for the moment, driven back; but the attacking column having been thus relieved, in its turn rushed forward, and from that moment had no check. In like manner Smith's division had to carry very strong batteries. The leading brigade was repulsed; the brigade in reserve carried the works. Thus the three divisions engaged were each in their turn checked, rallied, and carried everything before them. The exploit of the army is one of the most daring in the annals of our military history." By the February 16, the whole English army had encamped at Kasur, only thirty-two miles from the capital of the Panjab.

The next point was what terms should be dictated to the conquered Sikhs; and, as it is our object to give the views of the Governor-General on this and other matters in his own words, we quote the following extract from a letter

written at Kasur some days before the treaty of Lahore was executed. "A diminution of the strength of such a warlike nation on our weakest frontier seems to me," he wrote, "to be imperatively required. I have, therefore, determined to take a strong and fertile district between the Sutlej and the Beas. This will cover Ludhiana and bring us within a few miles of Amritsar. In a military sense, it will be very important—it will weaken the Sikhs. I shall demand one million and a half in money as compensation; and, if I can arrange to make Ghulab Sing and the Hill tribes independent, including Kashmir, I shall have weakened this warlike republic. Its army must be disbanded and reorganized. The Maharaja must himself present the keys of Govindgarh and Lahore, where the terms must be dictated and signed." In these words were contained the germs of the treaty of Lahore. The young Maharaja, the late Dhuleep Sing, then a bright little boy of eight, was brought into the Governor-General's camp by some of the Sikh Sirdars, among whom was Ghulab Sing, who then held the office of minister. Sir Henry Hardinge described the young sovereign as "acting his part without any fear and with all the good breeding peculiar to the Eastern people." The treaty of Lahore was ratified on March 9, 1846. The district of Jallandar, above described, was annexed to the British dominions; an indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees was demanded for the expenses of the war; and the Sikh army, which was the cause of it, was disbanded and was reformed on a smaller scale. As the Sikh Durbar were unable to pay the full amount of the indemnity which was demanded, seventy-five lakhs of rupees were paid by Ghulab Sing in consideration of his being left in independent sovereignty of Kashmir. This prince, who though he had a Sikh name, was a Rajput by birth, had throughout acted in a very cautions, not to say, treacherous manner; and the part of the treaty relating to him was much criticised at the time. The following letter to Lord Ellenborough, who had questioned his policy in this respect, has been published by Sir Henry Hardinge's son, and we do not think it has been hitherto made public. It

contains his justification of his own views on the subject. "Ghulab Sing," he wrote in reply, "was never minister at Lahore for the administration of its affairs. When the invasion took place, he remained at Jamu, and took no part against us, but tendered his allegiance on condition of being confirmed in the position of his own territories. This was neither conceded nor refused, as the paramount power did not think it becoming, while the armies were in presence of each other, to show any doubt as to the result by granting terms. I merely referred him to the terms of the Proclamation of December. Nevertheless, it was clearly to be understood by the terms of that Proclamation that, if Ghulab Sing took no part against us, he was entitled to consideration, whenever the affairs of the Panjab came to be settled. During the whole of the campaign he had purposely kept aloof; not a single Hill soldier had fired a shot against us, so that the Government had every right to treat with him. Were we to be deterred from doing what was right, and what had previously been determined upon, because the Lahore Durbar, knowing he had not participated in their crimes, chose to employ him for a particular object as being the man most acceptable to us? He came to Lahore, protesting publicly in Durbar against all that had been done. He had been told by Major Lawrence that we appreciated his wisdom in not having taken arms against us, and that his interests would be taken into consideration. It was always intended that Ghulab Sing, whose troops had not fired a shot, should have his case fully considered. After the war commenced, were we to abandon our policy and to treat the only man who had not lifted up his arm against us with indifference, because he came to head-quarters specially deputed by the Lahore Durbar to confer with us as one who had not joined in their unprovoked invasion? His forbearance was rewarded, because this forbearance was in accordance with an intended policy, and because the charge of treachery could not be substantiated."

The treaty of Lahore was ratified at a grand ceremonial held in a tent. The young Maharaja and his Sirdars were

present, and the terms of peace were proclaimed by the Governor-General in state. On this occasion the splendid diamond, called the Koh-i-nur, "mountain of light," which now belongs to the Empress of India, was surrendered. It was arranged that the government of the Panjab should be carried on by Lal Sing as prime minister, Major Lawrence being appointed the British Resident at Lahore. The new Sikh government besought the Governor-General that an English force might be permitted to remain near the capital to ensure order; but their request was complied with only so far as to allow a sufficient force to remain there until December. Sir Henry Hardinge himself, at the conclusion of hostilities, went for a season to Simla, there to enjoy a little well-earned relaxation and repose. While there, he received the tidings of his having been created a peer for his services in the late campaign, and of the unanimous approval of his policy and conduct by the authorities in England. He was particularly gratified by the letter written to him by the prime minister of England, his old friend Sir Robert Peel. "I know not," that sagacious statesman wrote, and he professed to express the opinion not only of the great mass of his fellow-countrymen, but of the reflecting few, "what I can add to the simple admiration of your conduct, military and civil, throughout the whole and every part of your proceedings and policy on the banks of the Sutlej. The original forbearance, the promptitude and skill with which an unprovoked aggression was repelled, the full reparation demanded, the dignity and calm fortitude with which it was insisted upon, the wisdom of the conditions imposed with reference not merely to our character for moderation in victory, but to the permanent interests of the Indian Empire, are themes on which volumes might be written.. These volumes, however, could add nothing to the assurance of the most cordial approbation of every act that has been done and every line that has been written. There is here universal approval of your policy from first to last; above all things, your moderation after victory is most applauded. It is thought, and justly thought, that it adds a lustre to the skill and valour displayed in

the military achievements. It is ten times more gratifying to the public mind than the annexation of the whole of the Panjab would have been."

Lord Hardinge now felt anxious to resign. Domestic reasons partly pressed upon him; but just at this time a change of ministry took place in England, and he considered it his duty to remain, if the new ministers should urge him to do so, in order that he might watch the result of his policy in the Panjab. He was thus urged, and he consented to remain at his post for a time. It was well that it should be so, for troubles soon arose in the Panjab. Sheikh Imam-ud-din, the governor of Kashmir, rebelled against the authority of Ghulab Sing; and, on the insurrection being promptly quelled by Major Lawrence, it was discovered that his proceedings had been incited by Lal Sing, the prime minister of Lahore, himself. This treachery demanded a change in the administration. On his being proved guilty, Lal Sing was removed from Lahore, and the Government was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency consisting of eight chiefs, under the absolute control of the British Resident, who were to govern the province for the next eight years, that is, during the minority of the Maharaja. A British force was to occupy the Panjab for this period. A new treaty to this effect was signed on December 16, 1846. The Governor-General again visited Lahore in this month in order to carry out this settlement. All these negotiations were conducted by him on his sole responsibility, without reference to his Council at Calcutta or to the Government in England, full authority for this purpose having been given to him by the President of the Board of Control. This officer wrote to him after the execution of the second treaty of Lahore: "I have only to congratulate you on all you have done and are doing. The best guides of public opinion are delighted with your arrangements, and give you credit for biding your time and doing the right thing at the right moment."

On his return journey to Calcutta Lord Hardinge paid a visit to the Nawab of Oude at Lucknow for the purpose of remonstrating with him regarding the mismanagement of

his dominions, which, in fact, amounted almost to anarchy. Continual warnings had been given to the Nawabs of Oude that the misgovernment in territory so closely adjoining British India could not be permitted; but they had always proved useless, and the cruelty, recklessness, and profligacy which were rampant there, still continued to prevail. An instance of the lawlessness of the Lucknow mob is related in Lord Hardinge's biography of his father. Both the Nawab and his minister were unpopular, and the latter was attacked in the streets of Lucknow by some fanatics who threatened him with instant death, if he did not promise a large ransom as the price of his release. The English Resident came to the spot on hearing of the disturbance, and succeeded in releasing the Vizier, and in capturing his assailants, but not till after the money had been paid by the Vizier's friends. The men were placed on their trial, though the Governor-General expressed his dissatisfaction at the Resident having been implicated as the protector of such miscreants. On Lord Hardinge's approach, the city of Lucknow was beautifully illuminated, and grand entertainments were given by the Nawab in his honour. These were principally fights between various animals and similar grotesque amusements. The solemn words of warning, which were in the form of a letter, were received with outward respect, they were written in golden characters with illustrations, and returned to the Governor-General with these tokens of respect; but, though thus outwardly respected, they passed unheeded, and the way was made plain for the annexation of the country, which took place under the administration of Lord Hardinge's successor. The warning was very plain. The Nawab was reminded of what had taken place since the treaty of 1801, and especially of the fact that Lord William Bentinck had, when he was Governor-General, threatened to take the province under British rule. A very clear statement was made that, if the present condition of misrule and anarchy was not brought to an end, extreme measures would be used; and two years were mentioned as the time allowed for some improvement. "In case of delaying the execution

of this policy were the actual words employed, "it has been determined by the Government of India to take the management of Oude under their own authority." The Nawab of Oude had thus fair notice of what was likely to occur if the lawlessness and anarchy then existing in his kingdom were permitted to continue.

Lord Hardinge's administration was distinguished not only for the successful warfare waged against the Sikhs, but also for much peaceful progress and for useful measures intended for the benefit of the whole Empire. We have already mentioned the interest he took in the education of the people. He took a special and lively interest in the great subject of irrigation, and pushed forward the scheme of the Ganges Canal. It had been planned by Major Cautley of the Bengal Engineers; but had been kept in abeyance by strong and active opposition in many quarters, and had been entirely set aside during the troublous and warlike time of his two immediate predecessors. He decided, however, that it should now be energetically proceeded with, and, being deeply impressed with the evils of famine which it was intended to decrease, he gave it his hearty approval and sanction. Though the full results of this beneficent undertaking were not seen till after his time, the credit of sanctioning it, and providing the money for it is due to Lord Hardinge. Other similar schemes for irrigation and navigation followed in other parts of India, and notably in the Madras Presidency, and have been of untold benefit to the agricultural population. The great subjects of the prevention of human sacrifices, suttee, and infanticide also occupied Lord Hardinge's attention. He did his utmost to have the two latter suppressed in the protected states. He used all his authority and influence to uphold the hands of Major Macpherson in his efforts to put down the practice of human sacrifices among the Khonds in Orissa and Ganjam. Lord Hardinge had the satisfaction of stating that, during his rule, the practice had been entirely suppressed. Notwithstanding the great drain on the finances of India during the Panjab war, he had also the satisfaction of leaving the country in a far better financial

condition than it had been since the outbreak of the first Afghan war. The sepoy army had been decreased in number; though its efficiency was preserved unimpaired by its having occupied better strategical positions than before; and thus a great strain was removed from the finances, and it was possible to pay more attention to irrigation and other works needed for the good of the whole of the people of India.

The time was now drawing near for Lord Hardinge to lay down the burden of office. He was looking forward to it with joyful anticipation to a season for holiday and refreshment. "I must shrink," he wrote in one of his last letters to Lady Hardinge, "from no duty to a public which has rewarded me so largely, and must maintain to the last the principle which I exact from my subordinates that public interests ought not to be neglected. Whilst wars and bankruptcy threatened the State, I remained. Now that peace is established and prosperity reviving, I return with the consciousness that I have done my duty." An address as presented to him on his arrival at Calcutta after a long absence which, as we have seen, had been marked by many memorable and stirring events; and on December 24, 1847, another address was placed before him by the inhabitants of that city, requesting that some personal memorial might be erected there to remind them of himself long after he had resigned his office. The result of this was the admirable equestrian statue of him by Mr. J. H. Foley, R. A., which adorns the Maidan at Calcutta. On January 12, 1848, Lord Dalhousie, who had been chosen as his successor, reached Calcutta and took charge of the office of Governor-General, and, just six days afterwards, Viscount Hardinge, nothing loath, steamed down the river in the *Mozuffer* on his way to England. On his passage he inspected the fortifications of Aden and reported on a military route in Egypt, and, finally, after travelling across the Continent of Europe, reached his native land on March 20.

Lord Hardinge, was not suffered, after his return, to sink into insignificance or to go into retirement. Within

a few months of setting his foot on shore, he was sent to Ireland on special duty at the time of a petty and transitory rebellion there incited by Smith O'Brien, which ended in a foolish failure. In 1852 the Earl of Derby, then Prime Minister of England, gave him the appointment of Master-General of the Ordnance; but he did not hold it very long, for, in the month of September in that year, the English nation had the great sorrow of losing by death the services of their distinguished leader and captain, the Duke of Wellington, and Viscount Hardinge, with the approval of the entire people of England, received the high honour of being appointed to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief of the British army. It was an arduous and responsible position, and it was rendered all the more difficult by his following such a very eminent officer as the Duke of Wellington. He was, however, the instrument of introducing certain reforms which would scarcely have recommended themselves to the judgment of the Duke owing to his own former experience, but which were required by the advance of military science, and approved themselves in the Crimean War which broke out soon after his appointment. The principal of these was the introduction of rifles in place of the old muskets. He also formed a temporary camp of exercise for the army, a measure which was followed by the purchase of ground at Aldershot, where there has since been a permanent camp for the training and manœuvring of troops. On October 1855, Lord Hardinge was made a Field Marshal, being the highest rank in the British army, in recognition of his eminent services.

Lord Hardinge seems almost to have died in harness, for he was taken ill at Aldershot, while he was presenting to Her Majesty the Queen a report on a military subject. He was, for a short time, able to ride about the grounds at his beautiful country estate, South Park, situated a mile to the south of Penshurst Place, in the County of Kent. He interested himself there in agricultural pursuits, and especially in the care of his garden, to which he was much attached. In the midst of these lovely surroundings, he died on September 23, 1856. He was buried in the churchyard of

Fordcombe Green, about a mile to the south of his estate. His own agricultural labourers carried him to his grave; but his old friend and predecessor, Lord Ellenborough, and his comrade in arms, Lord Gough, attended as a mark of affection and respect. The great Napoleon's sword, which had been given to him by the Duke of Wellington, and which he had with him on the eventful field of Ferozeshah, was laid on his coffin.

Though he was less than four years in power as Governor-General, India owes much to Lord Hardinge. The chief benefit that she derived from him was defence at the time of the Sikh invasion. The careful measures for protection which he adopted, his presence on the scene of danger, his firmness in maintaining his views on the battle-field, his chivalrous action in placing himself in his military capacity under the Commander-in-Chief, his moderation and sagacity in the hour of victory and in the negotiations for administering the Sikh state, all exercised a material influence in securing the sure defence of the North-West frontier of India, and in smoothing the way for his successor when he was compelled to decide on the annexation of the Panjab. India owed to him also many measures in civil affairs as well as in military, which have since been of the greatest benefit. He fostered and encouraged the grand works of irrigation in the North which have materially tended to decrease the calamities of famine. He helped to suppress the evils of infanticide and human sacrifices; but, perhaps, the greatest blessing he bestowed on India was the prohibition of Sunday labour in the offices of the state. He was himself careful to observe the rest of the Christian Sabbath; and, although most of the inhabitants of India do not regard the religious obligation of this day of rest, the very fact of relief from official labour at a stated period is an enormous boon to wearied human nature. A weekly rest is a great help to efficient work on the other days of the seven.

Lord Hardinge was very careful in his selection of his officials, and he trusted them fully. He was quick to discern inability and failure in rectitude or work; but he

was bland and gentle even when obliged to find fault. He seems to have possessed much tact in dealing with men and in soothing dissensions. Certainly there were few who were served by better or more able subordinates. One of the most accomplished of these wrote thus regarding his administration in the *Calcutta Review*: "We bid adieu to his Lordship with every hearty good wish. He found India threatened by invasion, and almost bankrupt. He has, in all senses, righted the vessel, restored confidence to our ranks, to our allies, and our dependents; replenished the public purse, tranquillized the frontier, and brought peace and security to the long-distracted Panjab. His best reward is in the conviction of his own noble heart—that he has honestly and bravely done his duty; that he leaves behind him more than a hundred millions whom he has largely blessed by enlightened and just measures; and that, returning to his native land, he is regretted by those he leaves behind, and warmly welcomed by men of every shade of opinion, as the pacific warrior, the happy statesman, the man who, in reality brought peace to Asia." What we are sure, however, would have still more gratified Lord Hardinge himself, had he been permitted to see it, is the passage written by Her Majesty which we have placed as the motto at the beginning of this memoir: "No sovereign ever possessed a more honest and faithful councillor, or a more loyal, fearless, and devoted servant."

THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

FROM A.D. 1812 TO A.D. 1860.

"Dalhousie, of an auld* descent,
My pride, my stoup,† mine ornament."
Allan Ramsay.

ONE day in the autumn of the year 1842, a young Scottish nobleman was amusing himself by throwing pebbles into the river which flowed through his estate. While thus idly passing a few moments of a very busy life, a servant ran towards him and announced that the Queen of England and the Prince Consort had arrived to pay him a visit. This young nobleman was the Earl of Dalhousie; and, after he had received his illustrious visitors courteously, he playfully informed Her Majesty, in the course of conversation, that the last time an English sovereign had come to his Castle, "he had remained outside for weeks and never gained admittance." This was King Henry the Fourth, who had besieged Dalhousie Castle. "We got out for a moment," was the Queen's account of this visit in her Journal, "and the Dalhousies showed us the drawing-room. From the window you see a beautiful wooded valley, and a peep of the distant hills." "The house," as Her Majesty added, "was a real Scotch castle of reddish stone." Dalhousie Castle, where the subject of this sketch was born, and where he died, is thus situated in the midst of lovely scenery on the south branch of the river Esk, a few miles to the south-east of the capital of Scotland.

James Andrew Brown Ramsay, the future Governor-General, was born April 22, 1812. He was of noble descent on either side. He was the third son of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie. His mother was the daughter of a landed proprietor in the neighbouring county of Haddingtonshire, who traced his lineage from a noble family in France. His

* Old. † Support.

second brother died in infancy; and, while he himself was still young, his elder brother and he were taken by their parents to Canada, of which province their father had been appointed Governor-General. In after years he frequently looked back with pleasure to his early home there. At the age of ten he was sent back to England, where he was placed at Harrow, the famous school not far from London on the north. He spent his school days in the house of the Rev. Dr. Butler, the head-master, and his holidays with his relatives in Scotland. From Harrow he went to the University of Oxford at the age of sixteen, and a few months afterwards his father went to India as Commander-in-Chief, taking with him his eldest son. At the University James Ramsay entered vigorously into the studies and the society of that ancient seat of learning; and being a member of Christ Church, he became the companion and friend of several who afterwards became distinguished men and among them were Lord Canning and the future Lord Elgin, his successors in the highest position in the Government of India. He evidently read with the object of obtaining honours; but the death of his elder brother, called him from his studies, and, when he returned to Oxford, he took only an ordinary degree as a Bachelor of Arts. He did so well in his examination, however, that the University authorities gave him the honour of an honorary Fourth Class. In the same year he became of age; and, two years later, there being then a general election throughout the country, he was a candidate for the representation of Edinburgh in Parliament. He was unsuccessful on that occasion; but the young candidate gave some indication of his power, by his fluency of speech, strength of will, and good humour in defeat. He was not discouraged, however. Two years after he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Haddingtonshire.

Lord Ramsay, in January, 1836, married Lady Susan Hay, a daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, who was afterwards Governor of Madras. This was a very happy union, and, as will be seen hereafter. Lady Dalhousie cheered his home and graced the society of Calcutta, dur-

ing the first few years of his residence in India. He did not remain long in the House of Commons, for, on his father's death in 1838, he succeeded to his seat in the House of Lords, where, however, he did much useful service. In the following year he had also the great sorrow of losing his beloved mother. As is the case with many distinguished men, he inherited much of his intellectual power from her. A great friend of hers described her as "a very remarkable person, eminently distinguished for a fund of the most varied knowledge, for a clear and powerful judgment, for acute observation, a kind heart and a brilliant wit." The new Earl of Dalhousie was a Conservative in politics, and was much attached to the statesman who was then the leader of that party, Sir Robert Peel. In the year 1843, he for the first time took office under him as Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and two years later, he was appointed as the President. At that particular period this office entailed very considerable labour on the part of its occupant. The great railway system of England was then being developed, and there was quite a mania for extending it in every direction. The work was incessant, for every application for a new railway had to be subjected to the scrutiny of his department, each line must be proved to be of clear advantage to the country, and the labour of examining the claims of the projectors was so great, and the President of the Board of Trade was so fully resolved that nothing should be sanctioned without his approval, that he over-worked himself, and the seeds of future disease were planted in his frame. Even during the days of his Indian service he did not undergo harder or more continuous work; but the information he then acquired was of the greatest service to him in his future plans for laying the foundation of the railway system in India. In June, 1846, Sir Robert Peel resigned his position as Prime Minister, and, therefore, according to the usual custom in English political life, all his colleagues in the Cabinet, including the Earl of Dalhousie, retired. The new Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, however, recognizing the young peer's ability and power of application, begged him to retain his

position. Lord Dalhousie declined; but, in the following year, the Governor-Generalship of India became vacant owing to the resignation of Lord Hardinge, and the Prime Minister at once offered it to the Earl of Dalhousie. Such a position being offered to so young a statesman was indeed a splendid tribute to his ability and power, and yet he did not accept it without a struggle, because his feet were already firmly planted on the ladder of political promotion, which would probably have led to some of the highest offices in the state. On receiving the assurance of the Premier that his doing so would not be considered in any way to compromise his relations with his own political party, he accepted this generous offer.

Lord Dalhousie, accompanied by Lady Dalhousie and his suite, left England by the overland route at the end of November, 1847, and reached Calcutta on January 12, 1848. The contrast between the new Governor-General and the departing one was very striking. Their personal appearance also was as diverse as were their previous history and employments. The one was the veteran hero of a hundred battles, who had grown old in his Sovereign's service, and now only eager to retire, if he could be permitted so to do, into the quiet of private life. The other, in the prime of manhood, the youngest man who had yet undertaken the responsibility of a Government such as that of the Indian Empire; but full of projects for its benefit, and anticipations of peaceful progress. The personal contrast between the two was equally striking. Both were of rather short stature; but, while one was grey and worn from length of honourable service, the other had a fresh and youthful look, with an aristocratic and even haughty bearing, and a stern manner which showed that he was not to be lightly trifled with or opposed. The two spent nearly a week together, and the new Governor-General had the advantage of hearing from Lord Hardinge's own lips his views and impressions of public affairs, and it is pleasing to learn from the son of the latter that their discussions led to a satisfactory concurrence of opinion.

It was the general feeling both in England and India that there was every prospect of the continuance of peace. The newspapers were full of this happy anticipation, and even the retiring Governor-General assured his successor that, so far as human foresight could predict, it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come. Lord Dalhousie had not, however, been in Calcutta four months, and had only begun to settle down to his work, when swiftly and suddenly tidings reached him of an outbreak in the Panjab, which led to a second Sikh war. That kingdom had been governed well and comparatively in quiet during the year 1847. It had been under the wise and vigilant control of Colonel Henry Lawrence, who had, with a council of Sikh Sirdars, governed it for the youthful Maharaja. On his leaving the Panjab, Sir Frederick Currie succeeded him as Resident. Early in the following year a petty potentate, Dewan Mulraj, of Multan, had resigned his chieftainship of that province, being discontented with the hard terms made with him on his succession, and a Sirdar named Kan Sing was appointed Governor of it in his stead. Two young English officers, Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, were sent to Multan to instal the Sirdar, and to see that the fort was transferred to his charge. They performed this duty; but, as they were returning to their quarters at an Edga in the suburbs of the city, they were attacked and wounded by fanatics, and, next day, the attack was renewed, and they were slain. Very pathetic is the account of their death. Lieutenant Anderson was lying wounded on a couch and Mr. Vans Agnew was quietly sitting by his side, holding his hand, when the assassins entered. "We are not the last of the English," were the dying words of a the heroic civilian.

A kindred spirit was only a few miles off. The day before his death, Mr. Vans Agnew had written hurriedly two notes in pencil, addressed to the English authorities at Bannu and Lahore. The attack at Multan took place on April 20. Two days later, the former letter fell into the hands of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, who was sitting in

his tent at Dehra Fateh Khan, and transacting his ordinary civil duties as a frontier officer. At once, without an hour's delay, he gathered together all the men at his disposal, and hastened towards Multan. He had at first only about 400 men with him, and Mulraj came out to meet him with ten times that number. Aided, however, by General Cortland and by the faithful Nawab of Bhawalpore, he won two battles over Mulraj's far greater force, and for two months he succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay. He compared himself to a terrier barking at a tiger; but it was by such courage, never counting numbers, that India was conquered, and is kept.

The outbreak of Mulraj seemed singular and isolated; but it was in reality merely premature. The whole of the Panjab was honey-combed with treachery and intrigue. The local insurrection soon became a national uprising. At first neither the Governor-General nor the Commander-in-Chief fully realized the true position of affairs. The latter considered that it was advisable to wait for the cold weather before commencing operations, when he would be able to take the field in person. The Resident of Lahore, however, saw that this delay was ruinous, and sent a brigade under General Whish to Multan at the end of July; but disaffection was rife. Chieftains and troops, who were nominally under the Government of Lahore, rose against the English protectorate, and the warriors of the old Khalsa army flocked to the standard of the Sikhs. General Whish, deprived of the help of his Sikh allies, was unable to continue the siege of Multan, and was himself besieged in his entrenchments in the vicinity of that fort, and had to wait for reinforcements.

Lord Dalhousie was by this time thoroughly roused. He always maintained that the rebellion of Mulraj was a revolt against the Government of Lahore, and must be "sedulously distinguished from national wrong;" but, he stated, "when it was seen that the spirit of the whole Sikh people was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us; when chief after chief deserted our cause, until the whole army led by Sirdars who had signed the treaties, and by members of the

Regency itself, was openly arrayed against us; when, above all, it was seen that the Sikhs had even combined in unnatural alliance with Dost Muhammad Khan and his Muhammadan tribes; it became manifest that there was no alternative left. The question for us was no longer one of policy or expediency, but one of national safety." Having thus grasped the true nature of the situation, he left Calcutta for the scene of action, and, in November, he reached Ferozepore, where he made his head quarters during the campaign. Just before he left Barrackpore on his upward journey, he publicly declared, "I have wished for peace; I have longed for it; I have striven for it. But unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word they shall have it with a vengeance." Before Lord Dalhousie's arrival at Ferozepore, Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, had crossed into the Panjab. Two engagements took place at Ramnagar, where a disaster happened to the British cavalry, and at Sadulapore, where an indecisive action occurred. But greater events happened in the first month of the new year. General Whish, reinforced by a column from Bombay, was rendered strong enough to capture the city of Multan on January 2, and twenty days later, on January 22, 1849, the fort was taken, and Mulraj surrendered himself. General Whish then marched with his forces to join the Commander-in-Chief.

Meanwhile, a battle had taken place, which was indeed a victory, but such as caused great loss to the brave English army, and occasioned consternation in England owing to its severity and indecision. It was fought on January 13, at Chilianwala. The feeling regarding this battle was so strong, and the outcry at the impetuosity of Lord Gough was so loud, that the English Government resolved at once to send out Sir Charles Napier to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief; and, at the earnest request of the Duke of Wellington, that gallant officer started from England for this purpose at three days' notice. Meanwhile, Lord Gough had gained another, and, this time, a final and complete victory. The Sikh army under Rajas Shere Sing and his father Chuttur Sing had

retired to Gujarat on the river Chenab in the north of the Panjab. Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Afghanistan, under the strong temptation of recovering Peshawar, which he had coveted for many years, had consented to join the Sikhs, and fifteen hundred Afghan horsemen had united with them, commanded by his son. It was at first a purely artillery battle. The Sikhs were posted in a strong position; but their fire was, in about two hours, silenced by the superior fire on the English side. The main army of the British army advanced and drove them from every position. This battle was fought on February 20, 1849. Lord Dalhousie was determined to make this victory the stepping-stone to the complete defeat of the whole Sikh army. "The war in which we are engaged," he said, "must be prosecuted now to the entire defeat and dispersion of all who are in arms against us, whether Sikhs or Afghans." The Sikhs and their allies were allowed no breathing time. He had selected General Gilbert to carry out this project; and, with unswerving speed, this officer pursued the retreating foe, until, at Rawal Pindi, on March 12, what remained of the Sikh army surrendered to him. He then continued the chase after the Afghan invaders, who fled rapidly back into their mountain fastnesses, closely pursued by a mere handful of English cavalry. "The Feringhis," they reported at Kabul, "have beaten us, and driven us, like deer, over two deserts and across two rivers." Thus ended the second Sikh War. The Panjab has since been a peaceful English province, and the old soldiers of the Khalsa became some of the best and most faithful followers of the English flag.

The Earl of Dalhousie had carefully considered what future course was to be pursued, and, during the months of waiting and of war, he came to the decision that the Panjab must become British territory, if the safety of India was to be secured. "I cordially assented," he wrote, when giving his reasons for annexation, "to the policy which determined to avoid the annexation of these territories on a former occasion. I assented to the principle that the Government of India ought not to desire to add further to

its territories, and I adhere to that opinion still." "But there never will be peace in the Panjab," he added, "so long as its people are allowed the means and the opportunity of making war. There never can be now any guarantee for the tranquillity of India, until we shall have effected the entire subjection of the Sikh people, and destroyed its power as an independent nation." Accordingly he took on his own shoulders the responsibility of converting the Panjab into a British province. The Court of Directors and the Government of England afterwards fully upheld him in this decision. On March 29, 1849, it was announced in open durbar to the Sikh sirdars there assembled. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident, was present, and Mr. Elliot, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was deputed by the Governor-General to read the powerful proclamation which he had himself prepared decreeing the deposition of the youthful Maharaja and the annexation of the country. The celebrated Koh-i-nur, then belonging to the Maharaja, was presented to the Queen of England, an outward sign of a great national triumph. The Maharaja himself was placed under careful tutelage, and subsequently resided in England. The conquest and annexation of the Panjab have been approved by foreign nations, and we append an extract from a French author rather than one from an English statesman: "the people of the Five Rivers live and die under the English Administration more peaceably than they have done for many generations."

Lord Dalhousie resolved to make the Panjab a model province. He resolved also that it should be rendered a safe and strong barrier on the North-West frontier. He took care, therefore, to select some of the best and bravest men whom he could find to administer its affairs. It was to be what was then known as a "non-regulation province," and the routine and dilatoriness of the older and more settled provinces of India were to be avoidel. The governing body was composed of a Board of three members; but the Governor-General himself took good care that his own ideas, policy, and will, should be supreme. The Board consisted

of Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother Mr. John Lawrence, and Mr. Manuel, who was afterwards succeeded by Mr. Robert Montgomery. Lord Dalhousie was fully aware of the differences of opinion which existed between the two brothers; but, knowing the high esteem in which they were both held by the Sikh people, he was anxious to utilize their good qualities, and to employ them both for the public welfare. The work of the Board was divided among the members. The very important matters connected with political affairs were entrusted to Sir Henry Lawrence himself; the departments of revenue and finance were allotted to Mr. John Lawrence; and the supervision of every thing concerned with the administration of justice was given to Mr. Manuel. A picked body of men was selected to carry on the work of the province, twenty-nine of them being military officers and twenty-seven civilians. The latter were principally taken direct from the North-West Provinces, then under the rule of that prince of civilians, Mr. James Thomason. Great care was taken to secure strong and adequate defences on the frontier, and to ensure a thoroughly efficient system of police. The method of dealing with the Sikh aristocracy, who held their jaghirs on the terms of military service from Ranjit Sing, was strong and masterful. The carrying it into practice frequently brought Sir Henry Lawrence into direct conflict with Lord Dalhousie; but the latter was firm and unwavering in carrying out his own policy. These chiefs had almost to a man, fought against the British power during the recent wars, and were scarcely fit objects of too great clemency, so the Governor-General decided that they were entitled to nothing more than their lives and their subsistence. He was willing to follow this policy as gently as was consistent with the perfect peacefulness and safety of the province; but no further. Mr. John Lawrence, as he afterwards wrote to the Governor-General, was able to report that "the arrangements regarding the jaghirs have given much satisfaction, and have exceeded all expectation. A Sikh Sirdar remarked to me that they had got more than Ranjit Sing ever would have given them, and that, too, free of all service."

When the new Board had begun its work, Lord Dalhousie joined Lady Dalhousie at Simla, which had not then become the regular hot weather resort of the staff of the Government of India. It was, however, situated within the Panjab, and it was consequently a convenient spot from which to supervise the arrangements for the pacification and government of the freshly acquired province. During the cold weather of 1849-50, Lord Dalhousie made a tour through the Panjab, and thus beheld with his own eyes the way in which his policy was working out. He saw that the people were settling down peaceably under the new regime; he inspected the roads and canals which were being projected or begun; and he beheld the new forts rising on the frontier line. Things went on pretty smoothly in outward appearance for more than three years; but there had been during that time, sad to relate, a sharp conflict of opinion between the two brothers Lawrence, who were the ruling spirits in the Panjab. Lord Dalhousie had wisely used their very diverse good qualities for the public benefit; but, at the end of the year 1852, he considered it advisable to place the now tranquil province under only one head, and that head was Mr. Lawrence, who afterwards became Lord Lawrence, the famous Viceroy of India. Sir Henry Lawrence was made Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, and, in January, 1853, sorrowfully turned his back on Lahore. His too sensitive nature made him feel deeply hurt that his brother was preferred to himself; but the private letter in which Lord Dalhousie acquainted him with the decision seems to us most kindly and tenderly expressed. "You stand far too high," the Governor-General wrote, "to render it necessary that I should bear testimony to the value which has been set upon your labours and upon your service as the head of the Administration of the Panjab by the Government over which I have had the honour to preside. We do not regard it as in any degree disparaging to you that we, nevertheless, do not consider it expedient to commit the sole executive charge of the administration of a kingdom to any other than to a thoroughly trained and experienced civil officer." Hence-

forward the Panjab was under a Chief Commissioner, who was afterwards dignified by the title of Lieutenant-Governor, with a Revenue and a Judicial Commissioner under him, and a staff of able assistants. It must never be forgotten, however, that the Panjab was Lord Dalhousie's favourite province and that, whatever was the ability, displayed by those serving therein, he was the supreme ruler, and made his genius, his influence, and his will constantly felt. The Panjab having thus been conquered, pacified, and settled, we must go on to consider the state of affairs in other parts of India and neighbouring states.

We turn to an entirely opposite quarter to the Panjab. Since the Treaty of Yandabu which ended the Burmese war in 1826 during Lord Amherst's administration, the King of Burma had been guilty of permitting various indignities to be practised on the English Resident at Ava and on the English merchants at Rangoon. The Resident had been removed for Ava to Rangoon, and, at last, he was withdrawn from the country altogether. In September, 1851, a formal complaint from the merchants at Rangoon was laid before the Governor-General, stating that neither life nor property was safe there, and that they would be obliged to leave the country altogether unless they obtained redress. In reply to this Lord Dalhousie made a demand for a small amount of compensation, for the removal of the Governor of Rangoon, and for the reception of an English agent either at Ava or Rangoon. Commodore Lambert with three ships of war was sent to Rangoon, and the Governor treated with marked contempt certain naval officers who were sent to negotiate with him. It was evident that war was intended both by the king and by the Burmese, and Lord Dalhousie, most reluctantly, was obliged to accept it. With characteristic energy he was determined to make the whole campaign as effectual as possible, and he himself drew up the plan of it. War was declared on February 12, 1852, and was vigorously prosecuted. General Godwin was placed in command of the army, which was chiefly drawn from the Madras Presidency, but Sikhs were employed for the first time in the service of England away

from their own province. Sir Edwin Arnold declares that nothing could be "more masterly in grasp, more prescient, or more practical" than the plan which Lord Dalhousie had drawn up for General Godwin's guidance; and Mr. Marshman declared that "such a display of superb energy had not been witnessed in India," since the days of the great Marquis Wellesley. On two points he persistently insisted. Remembering the sad losses in the former war owing to disease, he was careful to ensure good sanitary arrangements and a proper supply of food and medicines. He was equally strong on the necessity of annexing whatever territory might be taken. "With a nation so ridiculously but mischievously self-conceited and arrogant," he wrote, "nothing would make any impression except retaining every inch that had been conquered."

Early in April a compact little army, supported by ships of war, arrived off the mouths of the Irawadi, which flows through Burma. Martaban was quickly taken, and then an attack was made, on April 14, on the strongly fortified pagoda-citadel of Rangoon. Some of the king of Ava's own body-guard, "the Immortals of the Golden Country," bravely defended it for a time; but the steady rush of the storming party carried all before it, and the citadel and town of Rangoon fell into the hands of the besiegers. The war was then carried into the interior. Lord Dalhousie raised his original terms, and informed the king that "the Burmese forces will be defeated wherever they stand, and the British army will reach the capital." The Governor-General was fully supported from England. The Court of Directors sanctioned the annexation of Pegu, which they regarded as a choice of evils rather than an unmixed good. "It may be doubted," they said, "whether the relations even now established between you and that people have not already imposed upon you the obligation of protecting them." The Governor-General was, however, very averse to proceeding as far as the capital, feeling that what was conquered ought to be maintained. "To march to Ava," he wrote, "will give no peace unless the army remain at Ava; in other words, unless we absorb the whole Burmese

Empire. That necessity may come some day," he added, with a clear prevision of future events; "I sincerely hope it will not come in my day." Anxious to see things with his own eyes, he left Calcutta for a brief visit to Rangoon in the early days of August, returning speedily to the capital to hasten on reinforcements. In October Prome was taken; and, on December 14, an expedition was led by General Godwin to relieve Pegu, which had been courageously held by Major, afterwards Sir William, Hill, with four hundred men against overwhelming numbers, which formed the most striking and memorable incident in the war. Less than a week afterwards, by a Proclamation dated December 20, 1852, the province of Pegu was annexed to the British dominions. No treaty was entered into with the king of Ava. "In compensation for the past," the terms of this Proclamation ran, "and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council proclaims the province of Pegu a portion of the British territories in the East. Having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, he desires no further conquest in Burma; and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease." Pegu has since been governed by English officers. Captain, afterward Sir Arthur, Phayre, was the first Commissioner, and a band of officers under him gradually succeeded in bringing it, as a non-regulation province like the Panjab, into a peaceful and contented British province. The work, however, differed considerably from the Panjab in that there was no native aristocracy to deal with or national army to subdue.

We have now done with the military policy of Lord Dalhousie's administration, and are pleased to turn from wars and rumours of wars to more peaceful matters. The first subject which we are called upon to consider is his policy with regard to the annexation of certain Native States and the consolidation of the British Empire in India, for this had a very great influence on the future history of India. The various Native States, both Hindu and Muhammadan, may be divided into two classes—the sovereign and the dependent states. The policy with regard to both

of these classes which Lord Dalhousie inherited and which he himself held very clearly, was different. With regard to the states governed by Hindu Sovereigns the doctrine of adoption, which was enjoined by their religion, had to be very carefully considered. The first state to which it had to be applied, owing to the death of the Raja, was Satara, a small principality in the south of the Bombay Presidency. This was a dependent state, the Raja of which had been deposed for misconduct in the year 1839, and his brother placed on the throne in his stead by the Supreme Government. The Raja died in 1848 without children, but he had, previous to his decease, adopted a son without the consent of the Government. This brought up the question whether his adopted son should be permitted to succeed to his dominions. There was no doubt as to his right to inherit his adoptive father's private and family property. The policy of the Court of Directors, which had recently been pursued by the Governors-General, was that such adopted children should not succeed, though certain exceptions had been made in special cases. The Court had declared so recently as 1834 that such an "indulgence should be the exception, not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation." The law on this subject is clearly stated by a competent legal authority. "When the Hindu is a prince," wrote Sir Charles Jackson, a former judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, "holding his principality subordinate to a paramount state, it is a condition of succession that the adoption be made with the consent of the paramount state. His private property will pass to the adopted son, whether the paramount state has or has not consented to the adoption; but, in the absence of such consent, the principality reverts to the paramount State."

There is another, and a most important point which, in such cases, had to be considered, and that is, what is best for the people of the state. In this point we think it fair to Lord Dalhousie's memory, and right for the proper understanding of the case, to quote his own words. "No man," he wrote in a state paper prepared in the earlier

part of his administration, "can deprecate more than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary for consideration of our own safety, and of the tranquillity of our own provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories which already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of those petty intervening principalities which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never be a source of strength; and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government to those whose best interests will be promoted thereby. The Government is bound, in duty as well as in policy, to act on every such occasion with the purest integrity and in the most scrupulous good faith." With reference to the case of the State of Satara, he wrote: "In my conscience I believe we should ensure to the population a perpetuity of that just and mild Government which they have lately enjoyed; but which they will hold by a poor and uncertain tenure indeed, if we resolve now to continue the Raj, and deliver it to a boy brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing was known by the Raja who adopted him, nothing whatever is known to us." The Court of Directors gave their sanction, and the principality of Satara was annexed.

With regard to the general question of the acquisition of states by lapse, we believe that Lord Dalhousie viewed it sincerely from his own position, as undoubtedly for the benefit of the people themselves; but it must also be considered from the stand-point of the inhabitants of India generally. They would thoroughly understand their own law of adoption. They would not understand the distinction between private and state property: nor would they consider the rights of the paramount authority in the state. The principle, as the Court of Directors themselves allowed, had not been uniformly acted upon. Public opinion, then represented in India by bazaar gossip, would not

comprehend why one Raja was permitted to adopt, and another was not. Nothing is more resented than seeming injustice, and it is certain that this feeling actuated the minds of the people of North India during the troublous days that came so soon after Lord Dalhousie's time. He acted most uprightly and conscientiously; but it was his misfortune that so many cases of this kind occurred during his rule, and it was well that, under the direct government of the Queen, his policy has happily been reversed. Although the circumstances of each case was different, the annexation of Satara was followed by that of Sambalpore, Jhansi, and virtually of Mysore. The honours of royalty were denied to the successors of the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore. The greatest annexation at this time, however, was that of the Maratha Kingdom of Nagpore. It had been for nearly a quarter of a century under the nominal government of a dissolute Raja, whose incapacity and ignorance were notorious, and who had not attempted to adopt a son, although he had left no heir. He died in 1853. The Resident, Mr. Mansel, who had come thither from Lahore, recommended that an heir should be made by giving one of his Rani's permission to adopt a son. The Governor-General firmly declined to approve of this course. "What guarantee," he wrote, "can the British Government find for itself, or offer to the people of Nagpore, that another successor will not imitate the bad example of the late Raja? And if that should be the case, what justification could the Government of India hereafter plead for having neglected to exercise the power it possessed to avert from the people of Nagpore so probable and so grievous an evil?" "I conscientiously declare," he added, "that, unless I believed that the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants would be promoted by their being placed under British rule, no other advantages which could arise out of the measure would move me to propose it." No doubt, it was urged, the maintenance of the Kingdom of Nagpore would be acceptable to the sovereigns and nobles of India, and many high in authority, including the Resident himself, advocated that course on this ground; but Lord Dalhousie could not consider

that "a kind and generous sentiment should outweigh a just and prudent policy." The Kingdom of Nagpore was, therefore, annexed to the British dominions with the hearty assent of the Court of Directors, and it now forms the greater part of the present territory known by the name of the Central Provinces.

Another measure which had a potent influence on the history of the great Sepoy Mutiny must not be omitted. In the year 1818 when Baji Row, Peshwa of the Mahrattas, was conquered in the great Mahratta War, a pension for life amounting to eight lakhs of rupees a year was granted to him, which the Governor-General of that time considered too liberal an allowance. Baji Row died in 1851, and an application was made to Lord Dalhousie for the continuance of this allowance to his adopted son, Nana Dandhu Panth, commonly known as Nana Sahib. The Governor-General declined to sanction this, because it had been carefully given as a personal annuity, though he permitted Nana Sahib to inherit all the extensive private property which his adoptive father had left. This refusal rankled in his mind, and induced him to side with the rebels in the Mutiny, and to commit the atrocious cruelties which stain his memory.

Most important negotiations were also carried on with the Nizam of Hyderabad. This sovereign had, at the beginning of the century, entered into an agreement with the Indian Government to pay a yearly subsidy for the maintenance of an army, called the Contingent Force. The finances of the Nizam had been for many years in a most unsatisfactory condition, and the state was heavily involved in debt. Attention had, from time to time, been drawn to this state of things; and, at last, in 1853, Lord Dalhousie insisted on the matter being brought to a conclusion. A fresh treaty was entered into with the Nizam, by which the province of Berar was transferred to the direct Government of the British, on the understanding that any surplus revenue should be paid to the Nizam. "By this treaty," Sir Charles Aitchison said, "the Nizam, while retaining the full use of the subsidiary force and contingent,

was released from the unlimited obligation of service in time of war, and the contingent ceased to be part of the Nizam's army, and became an auxiliary force kept by the British Government for the Nizam's use." The financial strain on the Nizam's Government was thus removed, and the Assigned Districts of Berar have in every way improved and flourished.

While the attention of the Governor-General was continually directed to the consolidation of the Indian Empire, he was not less careful to consider its material and intellectual progress. The great engineering projects of his time received his warmest approval, and they still bear the impress of his master-mind. Foremost among these was the system of communication by railway. This was his own creation. The experience he had gained while at the head of the Board of Trade in England was of immense service to him in this respect. His idea was to attract private enterprise by European capitalists, who would be safeguarded by Government guarantee. The first railway was begun in the year 1850, and three years later he wrote a careful and exhaustive minute on the whole of this great subject. Other Governors-General have since helped to develop the railway system; but the conception of the method in which it has been carried out was due entirely to him. Alongside of this system was that of the construction of the telegraph. A new department had to be created for this purpose, and the story of the manner in which it was carried out, so as to triumph over physical and other difficulties wholly unknown to the experience of engineers in Europe, is one of the most interesting episodes in the history of science. India is now so closely bound to England by the "lightning-tappal," that we can scarcely realize the enormous difficulties under which this union was begun. Intimately allied to these advantages is the introduction of the postal system which India owes to Lord Dalhousie. He adopted the English plan of a low rate of postage throughout the Indian Empire, irrespective of distance, which has since been extended and improved. A postage stamp of half an anna carried a letter weighing less

than half a tola from Tinnevelly to Peshawar. This did away with the old system of higher charges even for limited distances. These three great changes India owes to Lord Dalhousie; but she owes to him greater benefits than these.

The Department of Public Works was reconstructed during his administration. He gave his full and cordial sanction to the grand irrigation schemes by which the people of South India were benefited, and many districts were preserved from the terrible disaster of famine, such as the anicuts across the Cauvery, the Godavery, and the Kistna. During his administration a good foundation was laid for the great system of national education which is now bearing such abundant fruits, and which, according to the way the people of India apply it, is destined to issue in the greatest good or the saddest evil. We cannot truthfully say that Lord Dalhousie was the creator of this system, but it was begun in his time, and he helped to foster and mature it. The Educational Charter of India, however, was the despatch on the subject prepared in 1854 by Lord Northbrook with the sanction of Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, then President of the Board of Control. The whole system has grown to dimensions hardly foreseen by its authors or the Governor-General, who helped, with all the mighty power of his influence, to promote it. We conclude this brief description of the material and intellectual progress of India under Lord Dalhousie with the mention of the rapid increase in the commerce of the country during that period. We quote the following passage from Sir William Wilson Hunter's *Marquess of Dalhousie*, which shows the result in few words: "During his eight years of rule the export of raw cotton more than doubled itself, from one and a half million pounds to close on three millions and one-third. The export of grain multiplied by more than three-fold from £890,000 in 1848 to £2,900,000 in 1856. Not only was the export of the old staples enormously increased, but new articles of commerce poured into the markets, under the influence of improved internal communications and open ports. The total exports of merchandise rose from 13½ millions sterling in 1848 to over 23 millions in 1856. The

vast increase of productive industry, represented by these figures, enabled the Indian population to purchase the manufactures of England on an unprecedented scale. The imports of cotton goods and twist into India rose from three millions sterling in 1848 to $6\frac{1}{3}$ millions in 1856. The total imports of merchandise and treasure increased during the eight years from $10\frac{1}{2}$ to $25\frac{1}{4}$ millions."

The industry of Lord Dalhousie was equal to his genius for organization and command. He understood the art of taking infinite pains. He carefully went into the details of important matters, and the mere manual labour of writing his despatches was enormous. His own peculiar share in the business of the state was the Foreign Department, and his industry in this was so great that he really left very little for his able Foreign Secretary, Sir Henry Elliot, to do. That eminent civilian "used to say with a pleasant smile that he spent most of his time as Foreign Secretary in pursuing his own historical studies." Heavy as it was Lord Dalhousie thoroughly liked his work. "To those around him," wrote Dr. Grant, who, for the greater part of his stay in India was his personal medical attendant, "he seemed enamoured of his task. Even in that hot and depressing climate, the intellectual exertion, which he liked, brought relief rather than lassitude, for business seemed not only easy, but delightful to him. He went with heart and soul into details, and to the driest subjects he gave vitality." This incessant strain and toil told very heavily on his health. He frequently travelled about the country. Sometimes he spent the hot weather at Simla or at some neighbouring resort in the mountains or at Ootacamund on the Neilgherry Hills. His medical attendant often warned him that change to a European climate was imperatively necessary; but the Court of Directors pressed him to remain at the helm of the government where his practised hand was felt to be so needful. He acceded to their request and exceeded the usual time for which a Governor-General was appointed by two years, and then, as the annexation of Oude was approaching, he felt it his duty to remain another year, even against the solemn warning of his doctor, so as to see it

carried into effect. His own words must be given, for they show the character of the man. "Believing it to be my duty to remain in India during this year," he wrote to Dr. Grant, "in fulfilment of my pledge, and trusting in the Providence of God to avert from me those indirect risks against which you have so clearly and faithfully warned me, I have resolved to remain."

A far greater grief and pressure, however, than declining health weighed on his heart. In his early days he was cheered and comforted by the companionship of Lady Dalhousie. At first she accompanied him on his tours, and graced his hospitable board; but her health could not stand the enervating climate. In 1852 she tried a change to Ceylon; but, early in the following year, it was considered necessary for her to return to England by the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope. It was hoped that the invigorating sea-air would restore her health, and she herself was looking forward to reunion with their two daughters, from whom, like innumerable English parents resident in India, they had been obliged to be separated. She died, however, on the homeward voyage, on May 6, 1853, almost within sight of the shores of England. This was indeed a sore bereavement. He was terribly stricken, and he sought ever more and harder work to occupy his mind, and keep it from dwelling on his loss. Many touching letters of condolence reached him, one being from our gracious, and tender-hearted Queen, who is ever the first to feel for and with her people. But the letter which went most directly to his heart was one from his elder daughter, Lady Susan Ramsay. It taught him, in his own words, that he had "still something left to love." In January, 1855, Lady Susan came out to live with him, and to enlighten his desolated home. "The sunshine of that fair young presence," Captain Trotter beautifully says, "played softly about his troubled spirit, lighting up the darkness it might not wholly dispel." Though this solace did much to cheer him, he was, during the remainder of his stay in India, quite a broken-hearted man. We must bear this in mind while we consider the story of the close of his lengthened administration. "He

suppressed," to use the language of another observer, Sir Richard Temple, "as much as possible, any manifestation of his distress or suffering; and the public was scarcely aware that his strength and life were gradually but surely ebbing away."

There are still some subjects to which reference must be made before we hasten to the close of his eventful rule. The question of the East India Company's Charter, which had to be renewed every thirty years, was considered in 1853. It was renewed; but very important changes were made in it. One of these was throwing open the Civil Service of India, which had hitherto been recruited by the nominees of the Directors, to competition. The Governor-General of India had up to that time been the immediate Governor of the province of Bengal. In his absence the senior member of his Council had governed it in his stead. This imposed a very severe strain upon the Governor-General for the time being, and now that several new provinces had been added to the Empire, over which also Lord Dalhousie exercised direct control, this strain had been very considerably increased. Bengal was now placed under a Lieutenant-Governor of its own. Another great change, which has since been more widely developed, was the creation of a Legislative Council for India. It consisted of thirteen members, four of whom represented Bengal, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and Bombay; and all legislative matters that had hitherto been managed by the Governor-General's Executive Council were transferred to it for consideration. The new Council met for the first time in May, 1854; Lord Dalhousie himself presiding. Such were some of the changes which were at this time adopted, and which were slowly and imperceptibly preparing the way for the greater changes made during the years that elapsed since the country was placed under the direct government of the Crown. The two wars in the North-West and South-East of the Empire, the numerous annexations, which were made by Lord Dalhousie in all good faith, the consolidation of the Government of the Empire, the rapid increase of its material resources, and the commencement of a system

of national education, all contributed to effect the change of policy which created the India of to-day. But the country had first to pass through a fiery trial and test that had a greater influence over it than any thing else.

The Court of Directors were very anxious that one whom they so thoroughly trusted as Lord Dalhousie should remain at the head of the Indian Government until the question of the future of Oude should be settled. Though weak and ailing, Lord Dalhousie considered it his duty to stay, even though, as we have already seen, his health, as the time drew near, became alarmingly feeble. The kingdom of Oude had, as we have stated in the lives of previous Governors-General, been, from the very first, a thorn in the side of British India. It was the worst governed of the dependent states. When a treaty was entered into in 1801 with the Nawab of that time, it was expressly provided that the Nawab Vizier engaged to "establish such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants." Lord Wellesley himself anticipated failure. "I am satisfied," he wrote at the time, "that no effectual security can be provided against the ruin of the province of Oude, until the exclusive management of the Government of that country shall be transferred to the Company," for he found that the inveterate abuses which pervaded every department of Government destroyed the foundations of public prosperity and individual happiness.

In Lord Dalhousie's time a Nawab was reigning there, who, if possible, exceeded his predecessors in profligacy, inability, and sloth. The state of Oude had become a perfect scandal. In 1847 Lord Hardinge gave him a plain and grave warning that this state things could not be permitted to continue, and that, if it still was allowed, the British Government would be forced to interfere by assuming the Government of Oude. He himself went to Lucknow to remonstrate with the Nawab, and fixed two years as the limit of the time of forbearance. This date past by, and Lord Dalhousie, his successor, was very loath

to carry the threat into effect. Colonel Sleeman, the Resident, whose sympathies were well known to be in favour of the preservation of Hindu and Muhammadan states, took a tour through the kingdom with the express purpose of ascertaining the exact condition of the people, and he reported that the state of things was so bad that the Indian Government was bound to intervene. "He did not think," were the words he used, "that, with a due regard to its own character as the paramount power in India, and to the particular obligations by which it was bound to by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this distracted country, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the Administration." General Outram, who was appointed Resident in 1854, and who was equally in favour of independent states, gave a similar account. "It is distressing to me," he wrote, "to find that in upholding the sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty, we do it at the cost of five millions of people, for whom we are bound to secure good government" Lord Dalhousie was still reluctant to carry out such a measure as annexation in all its entirety. In his quiet retreat at Ootacamund, he wrote an able minute reviewing the past history and the present condition of Oude, and recommending that, while the British should assume the entire administration of the country, the sovereignty of it should still be retained by the Nawab. The Court of Directors, however, decided for annexation; and supported by the Board of Control and the English ministry, gave the necessary order for it to be carried into effect.

By his proclamation of February 13, 1856, Lord Dalhousie, by one of his last public acts declared that, Oude had been placed directly under the English Government. In doing this he solemnly stated that "the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions." As Lord Dalhousie specially provided that his private papers were not to be published till fifty years after his decease, we are unable to give so many details regarding his own personal views of public

events as we have been able to do in the case of many of his predecessors; but we have, with regard to the annexation of Oude, the privilege of a solitary peep into his private diary, which we give as any indication of the reverential and devout state of his heart. "With this feeling on my mind," he wrote, referring to the above quoted extract, "and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty, gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt." Lord Dalhousie has been accused of entertaining the lust of annexation, and the strongest attack has been made upon him for the absorption of Oude. This is, however, manifestly unjust. The case of Oude was quite distinct from every one of the other instances of annexation. He was himself distinctly opposed to it; he carried it into effect in obedience to a plain duty imposed on him by higher authority; and he chivalrously offered to bear the blame, which he foresaw would be brought on him, rather than leave it for a new Governor-General, whoever it might be, to face in the first days of his rule in India.

He was too ill to remain in the country. In fact, he was unable to walk except with the aid of crutches. "It was well," he said to his physician on February 26, "that there are only twenty-nine days in this month. I could not have held out two days more." On the 28th, he met his colleagues in the Council Chamber for the last time. The senior member of Council truthfully stated that not one angry word had ever past among them in that room. On the 29th Lord Canning arrived, and the ceremony we have frequently described again took place. He was welcomed at the head of the broad stairs leading to Government House where Lord Dalhousie, leaning on his sticks, received him, surrounded by his colleagues. While Lord Canning was taking the oaths of office, John Lawrence, who had come from Lahore to bid farewell to his old chief whispered to him and asked him how he felt at that trying moment. "I wish I were in Canning's place, and he in mine," he replied with something of his ancient ardour; "And then, would I not

govern India." Then checking himself, he pathetically added, "But no, I could not wish my worst enemy to be the poor, miserable, broken-down, dying man I am now." On March 6, this noble-hearted man left Calcutta. The crowd that came to see him off was deeply and genuinely affected. "The attempted cheers of those that saw him totter on his crutches towards the river-side, faded away into a silence more eloquent than the loudest hurrahs." He was borne to Suez by the *Feroze*, a ship-of-war of the old Indian navy. On the voyage, crippled and enfeebled as he was, and obliged to write the greater part of it in pencil, while lying on his back, he prepared the celebrated and admirable paper, which described the chief events and measures of his administration. The exertion of writing this paper completed prostrated him, and he had to be carried on shore at Suez by the crew of one of the steamer's boats. The journey across Egypt through Cairo and Alexandria still further fatigued him, and he was obliged to remain ten days at Malta to recruit his strength before completing his voyage to England, where he landed on May 13, 1856. A day or two after his arrival he was cheered by receiving a kind letter of welcome from his sovereign. In his reply he said that "Such gracious words from a sovereign to a subject create emotions of gratitude too strong and deep to find fitting expression in other than the simplest words. He thanked Her Majesty from his inmost heart for the touching and cheering welcome home, which he feels to be the crowning honour of his life." Sir Theodore Martin says that these expressions "were but the climax of many, which had told Lord Dalhousie, during his viceroyalty, of his sovereign's approval." Evidently it was the custom of all the Governors-General during her reign to communicate direct with the Queen concerning the prominent events of their rule, though their despatches to her have not been made public, as we have seen that they were in the case of Lord Ellenborough.

The few remaining years of Lord Dalhousie's life formed one prolonged conflict with disease. He was sometimes better, sometimes worse; but there was no real improve-

ment. He divided his time between London, Edinburgh, his own ancestral castle, and Malvern, a health resort in the west of England. For some months during the winter of 1857-58, he stayed at Malta in the Mediterranean for the sake of its warmer climate. He was accompanied to England from Calcutta by his medical attendant, Dr. Grant; and he felt Dr. Grant's departure for India very keenly. He had been drawn very closely to him on account of all the careful and delicate attention the doctor had bestowed on Lady Dalhousie and himself; and we must quote just one sentence from a farewell letter he wrote to him, to show the affectionate gratitude of one who has been accused of being callous and cold. "I shall long feel strange," he wrote, "in the absence of the kind and sedulous daily care which I have been long accustomed to receive from you. I thank you a thousand times for it all, my gratitude for your never-flagging attention to myself and to that dear suffering companion whom I lost will remain in my memory as long as I have memory left." Dr. Grant and he frequently wrote to each other during these last years, and his letters contain several touching allusions.

Illness prevented Lord Dalhousie from joining in political affairs. He felt deeply the news of the Indian Mutiny, and seemed sometimes to chafe that he could do nothing to allay the fierceness of the storm. Popular opinion in England accused him as either the author of events that led to the outbreak, or because he had not foreseen it and provided against it. Keenly feeling the injustice of these accusation, and we believe that they were essentially unjust, he suffered them to pass by without reply. He was in no fit state to enter into controversy. His acts must defend themselves. The news, however, had a bad effect on his health. "I can think of nothing else but this outbreak," he wrote on one occasion. "Of course," he said at another time, "there are plenty who inculpate me, and, although it is very hard to be incapacitated from defence when one believes oneself without blame, I believe that I care less for the blame and for the defencelessness than for the misfortunes which lead men to blame, and render defence of

my administration necessary. In the meantime, the rest of mind which I feel to be essential to my progress towards recovery is gone." At length, in the summer and autumn of 1860, he grew decidedly worse. Alarming symptoms were observed by his physicians; and, after a brief visit to London, he returned to his own native home to die. He was constantly attended by his daughter, Lady Susan, and his cousin, General Ramsay, who did all that lay in their power to illeviate his suffering and to cheer his spirits. The latter bore witness to his unfailing patience and submission. "All the time I have been with him," he said, "I have never heard him complain once." He fell asleep on December 19, 1860, being only in his forty-ninth year, fairly worn out by the stress of his Indian toil.

The Marquis of Dalhousie was essentially a great man. He was a born ruler of men. He understood the characters of those with whom he had to deal, and knew how to use them in the services which they were most competent to render. He thoroughly knew his own mind, and went straight to the heart of the subject which he had to decide. There was, perhaps, nothing that more clearly showed the consummate tact which characterized him than the way in which he treated the Court of Directors, whom he faithfully recognized as the body immediately set over him. "It almost seemed," writes Captain Trotter, "as if they had originated the very measures which their Governor-General was commending most earnestly to their approval." He knew how to select his agents carefully and judiciously, and he expected them loyally to carry his directions into effect, just as much as he endeavoured, as in the case of the annexation of Oude, to execute decisions with which he could not altogether agree. He was very careful, however, to control his own rather imperious temper. He never administered a rebuke by word of mouth; but made a point of writing it, so that all the sting of it might be extracted. His rebuke was dreaded just as much as praise from his lips was prized. People in general thought him cold, haughty, and reserved; but those who knew him intimately loved and admired him heartily. The very exercise of self-control made his manner

such as would be misunderstood; but he was, under his polished and aristocratic demeanour, one of the most sensitive of men. He had a true sense of justice and right, especially when any of the people of the country, over whom he was ruling, were wronged or oppressed. "I can recall instances," wrote Sir Charles Jackson, "of Lord Dalhousie's indignation when acts of oppression and torture had attracted his notice in the public prints, and of his readiness to protect the native population from the recurrence of those acts." Kingly, however, as he was in his bearing, and eagerly desirous to shelter the oppressed from wrong, we are aware that he was not popular among Hindus and Muhammadans.

We have already described the diligence with which Lord Dalhousie performed his work. The way in which he economized time for it seems marvellous. He rose about six, and occupied himself, when at Calcutta, by reading official and other papers for some three hours. He would sit down to his work by half-past nine, and then work continuously for eight hours. He then released himself entirely from official business during the remainder of the evening. He did not like official parties, durbars, and entertainments. He was simple in his tastes and quiet in his manners; and yet his bearing was such that even such a men as Sir James Outram declared that he never left his presence without feeling his inferiority. We believe that he was a good Christian man. He thoughtfully read the sacred Scriptures every morning and evening, and we are sure that in this practice he, as so many thousands of Englishmen in India, found comfort, strength, and guidance. He was regular in his attendance at divine service, and the spirit of reverence that actuated him can be gathered from some of the extracts from his official papers and correspondence which we have already given. We add one more, which seems to us to contain the very essence and kernel of the art of Christian government. It is stated by Sir W. W. Hunter on the personal authority of Sir Charles Bernard, and is a merely a brief office-note. "I circulate these papers," he wrote hastily on one case,

in which he had successfully insisted on justice being done at the risk of a tumult. "They are an instance of the principle that we should do what is right without fear of consequences. To fear God and to have no other fear is a maxim of religion, but the truth of it and the wisdom of it are proved day by day in politics." We thus conclude the life of one of the noblest rulers India has ever had. He literally laid down his life for India. He laid the foundation of the India of to-day, broad, self-contained, compact; and we feel persuaded that his memory would never have been assailed even for a moment, had not the great tempest which had such a marvellous effect on the future of this country arisen so soon after his departure. This, however, may truthfully be said, very much of her present prosperity is due to the prevision of James Ramsay, Marquis of Dalhousie.

CONCLUSION.

We have now given a brief sketch of the lives of the first twelve Governors-General of India. We have tried to present a picture of each as the individual man rather than as the Governor; and, as far as possible, to see the various events of the history of India from his point of view. This series will appropriately end with Lord Dalhousie. He was the last who was only Governor-General. All his successors have been Viceroys as well as Governors-General; and the time of their rule is so recent, and so many of them are happily still alive, that we think it advisable to close the series here. A clearly defined era in the history of the country, ends with the last days of the Marquis of Dalhousie.

It will be seen that England has given to India some of her very best men. Mostly drawn from the ranks of her nobility, they worthily maintained the finest traditions of their order, the dignity and honour of their country, and the good of those over whom they were called upon to rule. Though by no means equal in ability, in power, or in the capacity of governing, they were all of one heart and one

mind in their sincere desire to uphold justice, to maintain truth, and to defend the right. This country owes them a debt of gratitude.

ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS FOR INDIAN READERS.

Biographies.

THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA, First Series: By Henry Morris, M. C. S. (Retired) 8vo. 145 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5 As.

Contains sketches of the lives of Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore, Marquis Wellesley, the Earl of Minto, and the Marquis of Hastings, with portraits. Interesting personal details are given, such as are not usually found in histories.

ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES: By Henry Morris, Madras C. S. (Retired.) 8vo. 160 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5 As. Full cloth gilt title, 8 As.

Lives of Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, Lord Metcalfe, Mountstuart Elphinstone, James Thomason, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, Sir Donald Macleod, and Sir Bartle Frere, with portraits.

SIR HERBERT EDWARDES. By Henry Morris, 8vo. 20 pp. ½ An.

He is described as the hero of Multan; the peacemaker among wild Afghan tribes; the true friend of India; the earnest Christian.

STATESMEN OF RECENT TIMES. 8vo. 192 pp. 8 As. Post-free, 9½ As.

Accounts are given of the leading Statesmen in the great countries of the world; as Gladstone, Salisbury, Bismarck and others. Special notice is taken of those interested in India. In all 182 are mentioned, with 122 portraits.

EMINENT FRIENDS OF MAN; OR, LIVES OF DISTINGUISHED PHILANTHROPISTS. 8vo. 158 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5 As. Full cloth, gilt title, 10 As.

Sketches of Howard, Oberlin, Granville, Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Pounds, Davies of Devauden, George Moore, Montefiore, Livesey, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and others; with remarks on what might be done in India.

SOME NOTED INDIANS OF MODERN TIMES. 8vo. 164 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5 As.

Sketches of Indian Religious and Social Reformers, Philanthropists, Scholars; Statesmen, Judges, Journalists, and others, with several portraits.

MARTIN LUTHER, THE GREAT EUROPEAN REFORMER. 8vo. 109 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

The state of religion in Europe in the time of Luther is described a; full account is given of his undaunted efforts to bring about a reformation, the greater need of a similar change in India is shown, and Luther is held up as an example. 15 Illustrations.

BABA PADMANJI. An Autobiography. 8vo. 108 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

An interesting account by himself of this popular Marathi author, describing his conversion from Hinduism to Christianity.

PICTURE STORIES OF NOBLE WOMEN. 4to. 50 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

Account of Cornelia, Agrippina, Padmani of Chittore, Lady Jane Grey, Ahaliya Bai, Mrs. Fry, Princess Alice, Miss Carpenter, Maharani Surnomayi, Pandita Ramabai, Miss Nightingale, and Lady Dufferin.

THE QUEEN-EMPRESS OF INDIA AND HER FAMILY. 43 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 3½ As.

Her early life; marriage; widowhood; children; progress in India during her reign; traits of character and lessons from her life. With 27 illustrations, and a coloured portrait of the Empress.

☞ *See also the Anna Library.*

Descriptions of Countries and Peoples.

PICTORIAL TOUR ROUND INDIA. Imperial 8vo. 116 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7½ As.

An imaginary tour round India, with visits to Nepal and Cashmere, describing the principal cities and other objects of interest. With 97 woodcuts illustrative of the Himalayas, Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Delhi, Bombay, Madras, &c.

THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF INDIA. 8vo. 160 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5 As.

An account of 42 Nations and Tribes of India, with specimens of some of their languages, and 55 illustrations.

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA AND THEIR PRINCES; WITH NOTICES OF SOME IMPORTANT ZIMINDARIS. 4to. 100 pp. 5 As. Post-free, 6 As.

157 States are described, and 32 portraits are given. The little book will help to enable Indians to understand the vast extent of their country, and what is being done for its improvement.

KASI, OR BENARES, The Holy City of the Hindus. Imperial 8vo. 44 pp. 3 As. Post free, 4 As.

An account of the city; its Sanskrit schools, ghats, temples, and pilgrimages; with 23 illustrations.

THE GREAT TEMPLES OF INDIA, CEYLON, AND BURMA. Imperial 8vo. 104 pp. with 60 illustrations. 6 As. Post-free, 7½ As.

There are pictures and descriptions of some of the most celebrated Hindu, Sikh, Jain, and Buddhist temples; as Puri, Budh-Gaya, Benares, Hurdwar, Gangotri, Ellora, Elephanta, Amritsar, Gwalior, Tanjore, Srirangam, Kandy, Prome, and Mandalay.

TIBET: THE HIGHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. 4to. 64 pp. 2½ As.

An account is given of this strange country, its productions, the curious habits of the people, with their belief in living *avataras* of Buddha.

BURMA AND THE BURMESE. 4to. 54 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

A description of the manners and customs of the Burmese; an account of their government, religion, and history, with illustrative woodcuts, and portraits of King Theebaw and his Queen.

LANKA AND ITS PEOPLE; OR, A DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON. 4to. 72 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 3½ As.

The account of Lanka given in the Ramayana is first mentioned. Its history, and present condition are then described, with numerous illustrative woodcuts.

PICTORIAL TOUR ROUND ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. Imperial 8vo. 114 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7½ As.

Description of the chief places of interest; Public Schools and Universities; Coal Mines and Manufactures; the British Government; Home Life; England an example and warning to India. With 104 woodcuts, and coloured engraving of the Queen-Empress.

PICTURES OF CHINA AND ITS PEOPLE. 4to. 56 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

Extent, History, Manners and Customs of the People; Schools, Examinations; Industries; Travelling; Language and Literature; Government; Religions; India and China compared; with 64 illustrations.

JAPAN: THE LAND OF THE RISING SUN. 4to. 68 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

With 49 illustrations. An interesting description of this beautiful country, and an account of the remarkable changes which have taken place in it.

PICTORIAL TOUR ROUND BIBLE LANDS. Imperial 8vo. 100 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7½ As.

The principal countries mentioned in the Bible and in ancient history are described; as Palestine, Syria, Babylon, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy; with 104 illustrations.

ARABIA, AND ITS PROPHET. 4to. 64 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

An account of the Arabs; with descriptions of Jeddah, Mecca, Medina; the History of Muhammad and the early Caliphs; the Koran, Muslim Doctrines, Sects, Prayers, Pilgrimage, &c; with numerous illustrations.

PICTURES OF RUSSIA AND ITS PEOPLES. Imperial 8vo. 83 pp. 5 As. Post-free, 6 As.

A description both of European and Asiatic Russia, including an account of the different races by which they are peopled, their manners and customs, the Government, &c., with 89 illustrations and maps.

PICTURES OF WOMEN IN MANY LANDS. Imperial 8vo. 112 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7½ As.

Descriptions of women, beginning with the most degraded nations of the world, and gradually ascending to the most enlightened, with suggestions, from the review, for Indian Women. 172 illustrations.

Papers on Indian Reform.

This is a Series of Papers treating of the great questions connected with Indian progress—material and moral.

SOCIAL REFORM.

ON DECISION OF CHARACTER AND MORAL COURAGE. 8vo. 56 pp. 1½ As. Post-free, 2 As.

SANITARY REFORM IN INDIA. 55 pp. 2 As. Post-free, 2½ As.

IS INDIA BECOMING POORER OR RICHER? WITH REMEDIES FOR THE EXISTING POVERTY. 8vo. 82 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

DEBT AND THE RIGHT USE OF MONEY. 8vo. 32 pp. 1 Anna.

PURITY REFORM. 8vo. 32 pp. 1 Anna.

CASTE. 8vo. 66 pp. 2 As. Post-free, 2½ As.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA AND WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THEM. 8vo. 158 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5½ As.

THE ABOVE COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, 1 Re. Net. Postage, 2½ As.

PRIZE ESSAY ON INDIAN DOMESTIC REFORM. 8vo. 144 pp. 4 As. Post-free, 5 As.

Religious Reform.

(See also the Sacred Books of the East.)

Popular Hinduism. 8vo. 96 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3½ As.

Philosophic Hinduism. 8vo. 72 pp. 2½ Annas. Post-free, 3 As.

The Brahma Samaj, and other Modern Eclectic Religious Systems, 108 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 4 Annas.

India Hindu, and India Christian; or, What Hinduism has done for India, and what Christianity would do for it. 8vo. 72 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

Krishna as described in the Puranas and Bhagavad Gita. 8vo. 72 pp. 2½ As. Post-free, 3 As.

Account of the Temple of Jagannath at Puri. 8vo. 48 pp. 1½ As. Post-free, 2 As.

Christianity Explained to a Hindu; or, The Doctrines of Christianity and Hinduism Compared. 60 pp. 2 As.

Swami Vivekananda on Hinduism. 8vo. 96 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 4 As.

The History of Christianity in India; with its Prospects. 8vo. 150 pp. 5 As. Post-free, 6 As.

Testimonies of Great Men to the Bible and Christianity. 8vo. 45 pp. 1½ As. Post-free, 2 As.

How the People of Ancient Europe became Christians, and the Future Religion of India. 8vo. 48 pp. 1½ As. Post-free, 2 As.

Civilization, Ancient and Modern, Compared; with Remarks on the Study of Sanskrit. 8vo. 48 pp. 1½ As. Post-free, 2 As.

Letters to Indian Youth on the Evidences of Christianity. 12mo. 280 pp. 6 As. *Eleventh Edition Revised and Enlarged.*

Tracts for Muhammadans. 12mo. 120 pp. 3 As.

Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. 12mo. 180 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 4 As.

139128.

Pice Papers on Indian Reform, $\frac{1}{4}$ Anna each.

Some are original; others are abridged from the foregoing for popular use.

1. Love of Hoarding and Jewelry.
2. Marriage and Shraddha Expenses.
3. Supposed and Real Causes of Disease.
4. Patriotism: False and True.
5. Management of Infants.
6. Debt, and How to Get Out of it.
7. The Purdah; or, the Seclusion of Indian Women.
8. Caste: its Origin and Effects.
9. Astrology.
10. What has the British Government done for India?
11. Who wrote the Vedas?
12. Manava-Dharma Sastra.
13. The Bhagavad Gita.
14. The Science of the Hindu Sastras.
15. Fevers: Their Causes, Treatment, and Prevention.
16. Cholera and Bowel Complaints.
17. Animal Worship.
18. Early Marriage, its Evils, and Suggested Reforms.
19. Duty to a Wife.
20. The Fruits of Hinduism.
21. Indian Widows and what should be Done for them.
22. The Advantages of Female Education.
23. Hindu and Christian Worship Compared.
24. Hindu Pilgrimages.
25. Charity: False and True.
26. The Two Watchwords—Custom and Progress.
27. The Value of Pure Water.
28. Charms, Mantras, and other Superstitions.
29. Nautches.
30. Importance of Cleanliness.
31. How to have Healthy Children.
32. How to bring up Children.
33. How to take Care of the Sick.
34. Eclipses.
35. Family Prayer.

36. GIVING ABUSE.
37. SHRADDHAS.
38. KARMA OR FATE.
39. THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.
40. THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.
41. HINDU AND CHRISTIAN IDEALS OF PIETY.
42. PRAYASCHITTA.

Complete in one Volume, 1 Re. Postage 2 As.

Exposures of Theosophy.

THE THEOSOPHIC CRAZE: ITS HISTORY; THE GREAT MAHATMA HOAX; HOW MRS. BESANT WAS BEFOOLED AND DEPOSED; ITS REVIVAL OF EXPLODED SUPERSTITIONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. 8vo. 96 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 4 As.

INDIA, PAST AND PRESENT. 8vo. 96 pp. 2 Annas. Post-free, 2½ As.

It is considered whether India would benefit more from Hindu or Western Civilization, from Sanskrit or English; with a notice of India's Present Needs. Theosophist plans for the improvement of India are examined.

Papers for Thoughtful Hindus.

No. 1. THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM. 8vo. 32 pp. By the Rev. Dr. KRISHNA MOHUN BANERJEA, late Sanskrit Examiner to the Calcutta University. ½ Anna.

The remarkable resemblances, in some respects, between ancient Hinduism and Christianity are pointed out.

No. 2. THE SUPPOSED AND REAL DOCTRINES OF HINDUISM, AS HELD BY EDUCATED HINDUS. 8vo. 32 pp. By the Rev. Nehemiah (Nilakanth) Goreh. ½ Anna.

It is shown that the belief of educated Hindus with regard to God, His Attributes, Creation, &c., are not found in the Vedas; but have been derived from Christianity.

No. 3. MORAL COURAGE. 8vo. 32 pp. ½ Anna.

A lecture by the Bishop of Bombay.

No. 4. THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION. 8vo. 48 pp. ¾ Anna.

An appeal to the young, by John Foster, author of Essay on *Decision of Character*.

No. 5. CHRISTIANITY, OR—WHAT? 8vo. 16 pp. ¼ Anna. By the Rev. H. Rice.

Christianity is shown to be the only religion which meets the wants of man,

No. 6. THE SENSE OF SIN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. A Lecture by the Rev. F. W. KELLETT, M. A., Madras Christian College. 8vo. 20 pp. ½ Anna.

It is shown that the deeper the sense of sin, the more mature the religious life.

No. 7. BISHOP CALDWELL ON KRISHNA AND THE BHAGAVAD GITA. 8vo. 32 pp. ¾ Anna.

A reprint of Remarks on the late Hon. Sadagopah Charloo's Introduction to a Reprint of a Pamphlet entitled, "*Theosophy of the Hindus*;" with a preface by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt.

No. 8. THE DUTIES OF EDUCATED YOUNG MEN TO THEIR COUNTRY. 8vo. 16 pp. ½ Anna.

An Address, by the Rev. H. Ballantine, at a Meeting of the Ahmednagar Debating Society. Translated from the Marathi.

No. 9. REV. LAL BEHARI DAY ON VEDANTISM. 8vo. 24 pp. ½ Anna.

An able exposure of this system, with numerous Sanskrit quotations.

No. 10. CHRIST THE FULFILMENT OF HINDUISM. 8vo. 23 pp. ½ Anna.

A Lecture by the Rev. F. W. Kellett, M. A., Madras Christian College. It is shown that what Hinduism verily attempts to supply is to be formed in Jesus Christ.

The Anna Library. 1 Anna each.

MOSTLY WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

Fables and Anecdotes.

INDIAN FABLES. 48 pp.
PICTURE FABLES. 48 pp.
CHOICE PICTURES AND STORIES. 48 pp.
PICTURES AND STORIES FOR THE YOUNG. 48 pp.

History.

INDIA IN VEDIC TIMES. 48 pp.
PICTURE STORIES OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS. 48 pp.
PICTURE STORIES OF THE OLD ROMANS. 48 pp.
PICTURE STORIES FROM ENGLISH HISTORY. 48 pp.

Natural History.

STORIES OF MONKEYS, ELEPHANTS, AND SOME OTHER BEASTS. 48 pp.
PICTURES AND STORIES OF WILD BEASTS. 48 pp.
PICTURES AND STORIES OF BIRDS. 48 pp.
SNAKES, CROCODILES, AND OTHER REPTILES. 48 pp.
FISHES AND WHALES. 48 pp.
CURIOUS LITTLE PEOPLE; A DESCRIPTION OF INSECTS. 48 pp.
THE WONDERFUL HOUSE I LIVE IN. 48 pp.
A description of the human body.

Biography.

SAINT AUGUSTINE, THE GREATEST EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITER 48 pp.
COLUMBUS, THE DISCOVERER OF AMERICA. 48 pp.
VASCO DE GAMA; OR, THE FIRST VOYAGE TO INDIA. 48 pp.
PALISSY THE POTTER. 48 pp.
An example of the dignity of labour, of perseverance crowned with success, and of moral courage.
PETER THE GREAT, CZAR OF RUSSIA. 48 pp.
WILLIAM CAREY. 48 pp.
The translator of the Bible into Sanskrit, and the founder of English Missions to India.
THOMAS ARNOLD: THE MODEL ENGLISH TEACHER. 48 pp.
GEORGE STEPHENSON, THE FOUNDER OF RAILWAYS. 48 pp.
STORY OF DR. LIVINGSTONE, THE GREAT MISSIONARY TRAVELLER. 48 pp.
STORY OF DR. DUFF, BY A. L. O. E. 56 pp.
GENERAL GARFIELD. 48 pp.
The farmer boy who became President of the United Stat[illegible]
NEESIMA: THE TRUE PATRIOT OF JAPAN. 48 p[illegible]

Physical Science.

[illegible]TRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. 48 pp.
[illegible]RNING MOUNTAINS, EARTHQUAKES, AND [illegible]

Miscellaneous.

[illegible] AND HIS RELIG[illegible]
[illegible]THE EARTH.

History of the True Incarnation. 52 pp.

Proverbs from East and West. 48 pp.

Short Papers for Seekers after Truth. 12mo. 112 pp.

A Guide to Religious Inquirers, treating of the Existence of God, Sin, the Need of a Revelation, the leading Doctrines of Christianity, and the Object of Life.

Short Papers for Young Men. 12mo. 104 pp.

A Sequel to the foregoing. Hints on General Conduct, the Choice of a Profession, and Success in Life.

The Christian Religion. 12mo. 68 pp.

By Professor Fisher of Yale College, United States; contains replies to some of the objections brought against Christianity.

Progress.

This is a monthly illustrated Periodical for the educated classes in India and Ceylon. The subscription is only 8 As. a year; with postage 14 As. Three copies may be sent for ½ anna postage.

The Periodical is specially recommended to Teachers. It would give new ideas to their pupils, while the page for students would be very useful to those preparing for examinations.

Orders to be addressed to Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras.

Educational Catalogue.

A List of English School Books, prepared specially for India, and largely used all over the country, supplied *gratis* on application to Mr. A. T. Scott Tract Depôt, Mad

Orders o be addressed to the Calcutta, Allahabad T rachi, Bombay, Bangalore, and Colomb

---

DRAS—1896.